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THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

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VIEW OF ALGIERS FROM THE SEA.

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NARRATIVE

OF A

RESIDENCE IN ALGIERS;

COMPRISING

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE REGENCY;

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE DEY AND HIS MINISTERS;

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Anecdotes of the late War;

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE RELATIONS OF THE BARBARY STATES WITH THE CHRISTIAN POWERS;

AND THE NECESSITY AND IMPORTANCE OF THEIR COMPLETE SUBJUGATION.

BY

SIGNOR PANANTI.

WITH NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

BY

EDWARD BLAQUIERE, Esq. R.N.

AUTHOR OF "LETTERS FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN."

Obruat illud male partum, male retentum, male gestum imperium. CICERO.

The fact is, we ourselves with a little cover, others more directly, pay a *tribute* to the Republic of Algiers; and I for one do more than doubt the policy of this convention. BURKE, *on a Regicide Peace.*

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE PRINCE REGENT,

&c. &c. &c.

SIR,

AMONGST that host of exiles who found an asylum against oppression, persecution, and tyranny in this country, during the late unprecedented revolution, few seem to have felt a deeper sense of gratitude for the protection afforded by Great Britain, and none appreciated the proud pre-eminence of our civil and political *institutions over those of other nations, more highly,* than the author of the following Narrative.

Mr. Pananti is also the first emigrant, who has given unlimited scope to those feelings of admiration, which are generally inspired by an impartial view of our inestimable constitution. Uninfluenced by the little mind or sordid jealousy of others, the mere privilege of living in a free country, without sharing in the immediate bounty of the sovereign, was enough to excite sentiments of the warmest gratitude on the part of this liberal-minded Italian; and I am satisfied, that next to the gratification of having endeavoured to serve the paramount cause of humanity and justice, he will esteem the

high honour conferred on his work, in having the name of your Royal Highness prefixed to it, as the greatest reward his literary labours could attain; and participating in these sentiments, I feel equally flattered by so distinguished a privilege.

Warmly attached to the kingly power from principle, and convinced by the experience of history, how much a constitutional monarch may perform for the interests of humanity, the object of this Dedication is that of soliciting the attention of your Royal Highness to a subject, in which the energies of a free people may be most usefully exerted in favour of the whole universe. While some princes have laboured to acquire the terrific immortality of an Alexander, a Cæsar, and a Ghengis Khan; others, animated by a more legitimate love of fame, derive their glory from imitating the virtues of an Aristides, a Trajan, and an Alfred. It is amidst the names of the latter, I am desirous of seeing that of a British sovereign inscribed; and should the author's proposition to colonize Northern Africa, be fortunately honoured with the support of your Royal Highness, none but those who are determined to oppose the progress of knowledge and civilization, can deny it this elevated distinction.

Grateful for the condescension I experience in being permitted to lay this work before your Royal Highness, I have the honour to be, with sentiments of profound respect, and unfeigned loyalty,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's most humble,

And most devoted Servant,

EDWARD BLAQUIERE.

London, April 10th, 1818.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

OF all those peculiarities which distinguish the present age, giving it a marked superiority over every preceding period of our history, none is so conspicuous, or more conducive to the interests of mankind, than the very general curiosity excited by works of this nature; and although, like most others, they have a tendency to accumulate beyond all reasonable limits, that should not militate against the claims of any new candidate for public notice; particularly if, as in this instance, the author has endeavoured to make his book the vehicle of important truths, while he offered a faithful picture of the manners and customs of the people whom he professed to describe.

In ushering, however, another quarto into the world, it would be improper were I to omit some account of the motives which have led to its publication.

Having frequented the shores of Northern Africa during the late war, those intervals of relaxation afforded from professional duties, were devoted to the collection of all the useful information I could obtain relative to the places I happened to visit: this was, in the first instance, communicated to His Majesty's Government, and finally published, with considerable additions, in 1812. Since that period, Mr. Pananti is the only writer who has given a detailed account of a place to which I had not a sufficient degree of access to allow of my including it in the LETTERS FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN. In regretting this circumstance, I was, however, fully aware of its importance, on several accounts, over the rest; and therefore, determined to embrace the first opportunity that presented itself, of bringing the subject before the public. This was furnished by the industry and observation of the above-named personage, whose melancholy stars led to his being carried into Algiers as a slave; and thus enabled him to give a much more minute description of that Regency than has ever yet appeared in Europe.

After those interesting events connected with the recent history of Barbary, which rendered an account of Algiers a desideratum in literature and politics, it will, I dare say, be considered as rather fortunate, that such a writer should have had the means of elucidating the present state of that country; hitherto only known by the lawless depredations of its unprincipled chiefs. Although this circumstance is alone sufficient to excite a considerable degree of interest in its favour, I should never have undertaken the humble office of a translator, did I not believe the author's labours had much greater claims to the attention of the philosopher, politician, and man of letters, than books of travels usually possess. In saying thus much,

I am only performing an act of justice to Mr. Pananti, whose independent spirit, and high sense of virtue, preclude the possibility of his compiling a book for the sake of bettering his fortune, without contributing to the improvement of his fellow creatures. Had the author devoted his talents to the composition of a novel or romance, there is little doubt, but that he would have stood a much better chance of being remunerated for the pecuniary losses occasioned by his captivity: having aspired to the high honour of disseminating knowledge of a more important nature than can possibly result from works of fiction, he must be satisfied with that intellectual reward which never fails to arise from an honest endeavour to serve *mankind*.

Though it is evident that the author's principal object in publishing, was to call the serious attention of Europe to the necessity and importance of colonizing Northern Africa, and, at all events, to put an end to piracy, he was by no means indifferent to those details which are calculated to amuse the general reader. It is hoped these will be found to possess a sufficient degree of interest to render them worth perusal; even should the more abstract reasonings be regarded with indifference.

As this is the first prose work of any consequence which the author has given to the public, its merits will not be particularly enhanced by any praises which I might be disposed to bestow on his poetical talents. However, these are such as to have placed Mr. Pananti's name very high amongst the living poets of Italy. While in England, where, rather than remain a passive spectator of his country's degradation, he took shelter during the revolutionary storm;

in addition to many smaller pieces, he published two volumes, in 1809, entitled *Il Poeta di Teatro*, descriptive of the state of our Italian opera. This, in addition to local interest, contains many digressions on the manners, customs, and events of the day, and is in other respects distinguished by all that epigrammatic humour which abounds in his earlier productions: many of these were published previous to his quitting Tuscany, and are justly celebrated in Italy.

Having experienced every difficulty which a total loss of his property, the hardships of captivity, and a broken spirit could produce, Mr. P. endeavoured to console himself on returning to Florence, by compiling the following narrative; and as stated in a note prefixed to the second edition of the original, the transactions which took place previous and subsequent to the attack under Lord Exmouth, gave additional importance to his materials. How the author has availed himself of this circumstance, it is for the public to determine.

As all that occurred to Mr. Pananti on the subject of Africa, together with the observations suggested by late events, are amply detailed throughout his work, I have only to express an ardent hope that they will produce some effect on the august personages who are about to meet in Germany during the ensuing summer: for next to the great question of South American independence, none demand more serious consideration than that of Italy and the coast of Barbary.

In paying a just tribute of applause to the author's political principles, and the unrestrained liberality with which he treats the

important questions he has discussed, no less admiration is due to the government of Tuscany and its mild censorship, which gave him so wide a latitude for the dissemination of his sentiments. In fact, the publication of such a work as the following, may be regarded as an epoch in the history of Italy, and excites the more surprize, from newspapers and other periodical works being generally under the most peremptory restrictions in nearly all the Italian states.

With respect to the difference of arrangement, adopted in this edition of Mr. Pananti's narrative, the division into chapters has the advantage of being more familiar to us, while a degree of unity, which seems wanting in the original, is given to the whole work. Inimical to literal translation, from a conviction that no language on earth is susceptible of an exact transcript into another, my chief study in the following sheets, has been that of transfusing the author's ideas into the idiom of our own country. Although, owing to difficulties which must always arise on such occasions, I am not so vain as to flatter myself with having attained this object in its fullest extent; it will be exceedingly gratifying to find, that some progress has been made towards a design, which might, I think, be more generally adopted, without injuring the interests of literature, or diminishing the number of readers.

To those who are not fond of quotations, I beg to observe, that many in the original which appeared least calculated to create an interest with the English reader have been suppressed; while a translation is added to the most material, and care has been taken that none should interfere with the course of the narrative.

The same motives which guided me in the translation, have also dictated an occasional departure from the original, either by an omission of whatever appeared not exactly suited to the taste of an English reader, or had been already sufficiently illustrated by other writers. This is another privilege which few will be disposed to deny a translator, and if more freely exercised, it could not fail to render an essential service to the community.

If I am to believe those who have studied the public taste, in matters of literature, an author may get over any difficulty, except that of making people read his notes. A friend happening to suggest this discouraging circumstance in the course of the following translation; my reply was, that besides the text having in many places, seemed to require either commentary or illustration, readers were not generally disposed to find fault with any remarks, which did not appear to be inserted merely for the purpose of swelling up a volume. I am not without a hope, that those who take the trouble of perusing the share I have had in this, will acquit me of a charge like the above; while all are, of course, at liberty to pass it over, as not interfering with the narrative, which it is solely intended to diversify, by an occasional reference to a few subjects, that have hitherto created no inconsiderable degree of public interest in this country.

Having, on my late return from the Continent, heard that tours innumerable were in preparation, I have been deterred from any attempt to *make up* one myself. But as it is scarcely possible for the most ordinary observer, to visit France or Italy, without noticing the singular spectacle exhibited by those two countries, after the

extraordinary vicissitudes of their recent history. I thought the present a favourable opportunity to offer a few desultory remarks on the above nations. Visiting the former, with a strong prepossession in favour of a people, whom I had principally known through the medium of books; it is needless to say, that in common with many others, these were calculated to convey but a very limited notion of the French character; which requires to be closely examined before it is thoroughly understood. If, like most of our countrymen who have visited France, I have found less to admire, than I at first anticipated; the circumstance does not arise from prejudice on my part, or national hatred: some of the facts which have given rise to the opinions promulgated in the notes, are stated; and if necessary, I am prepared to corroborate them by many others. A warm admirer of those intellectual qualities and that natural genius, which have placed France in the first rank of civilized nations, I am not, for these reasons, called upon to sacrifice the interests of truth, either for the sake of private friendship, or the fear of censure. The whole tenor of my observations proves how highly I appreciate individual talent; while it was impossible to stifle my feelings, on seeing a nation, so capable of all that is great and good, made the willing instrument of unprincipled factions, or false doctrines in philosophy. Hence the little ceremony observed with regard to Buonaparté, whom I can never cease to consider as one of the greatest enemies public liberty has had in Europe; and yet, unheard of anomaly, the revolutionary faction wish for his return!!!

I have in vain endeavoured to account for this most inexplicable

fatality; which, lamentable to reflect, has polluted some minds in our own country. As any attempt to trace the cause of this wonderful change in the opinion of some politicians, who thought so diametrically opposite, while the Ex-Emperor was in power, would lead me far beyond the limits of a preface, I will only add on this subject, that those who wish to excite the sympathy of Europe in his behalf, ought, at least, to inform the public in what way he has, during his long and sanguinary reign, contributed to the repose or happiness of mankind. Until this is done, I am fully justified in cherishing the opinions, founded on a perfect recollection of historical facts, which are given in the present publication. I am by no means insensible to those talents which have led to Buonaparté's being compared to the Alexanders and Cæsars of former days; talents, which he invariably applied to obtain the same ends. But these are the strongest reasons against suffering common sense to be violated, by looking to such people for the salvation of liberty. Without the smallest wish of impeding the progress of those exertions in favour of the St. Helena exile, which go to soften the rigours of his confinement, or even lead to his being transferred to a less solitary region; I cannot help considering the manner in which his public character has been blazoned forth to the English people, as having done incalculable mischief to the cause it was intended to promote. Is it not the bounden duty of upright and unprejudiced political writers, to warn the multitude against the frightful consequences of elevating any more military leaders to rule over them? And yet, we have seen those, who make an open profession of patriotism, inscribe odes, and write panegyrics on Napoleon Buonaparté! As this admiration is neither justified by wisdom nor prudence, it can only be

regarded as one of those palpable absurdities, and fatal errors, which sometimes lead men astray against the evidence of their senses; and on this account, I trust, we shall learn to look to a more legitimate source of bettering the condition of nations, than by the renewal of military despotism in Europe. And how justly might not the prophetic interrogatories of M. de Calonne be repeated to those, who are still labouring to bring back the evils of anarchy in France:— "Qu'il est funeste l'art de tromper le peuple! et quel exécrable usage les perturbateurs de la France n'en ont ils pas fait? Nation spirituelle, aimable, généreuse, à qui il ne manque que de réfléchir davantage! Jusques à quand vous laisserez-vous aveugler? Jusques à quand serez-vous le jouet d'un association d'intrigans, d'enthusiastes et de dupes?"

While I was taught to attribute the moral and political evils of France to causes purely local; those of persecuted and ill-fated Italy, seemed to arise from the ceaseless avidity and rapacious ambition of *foreign invaders*. The abuses of religion have no doubt had considerable share in adding to the misfortunes of that interesting country; but however inclined the Italians may be to encourage vicious habits, their capability of improvement, and disposition to adopt liberal institutions, could never be fairly estimated while shackled by so many oppressions, which left no choice between slavery and subjection.

Impressed with these important truths; grateful for the blessings conferred on the rest of Europe by that intellectual fire which has never ceased to burn in the climate of Italy; penetrated with sorrow at the impoverished and degraded state of the people, which can

only be meliorated by the adoption of a more liberal and enlightened policy than has been hitherto resorted to, I was unwilling to lose this opportunity of submitting a few thoughts on the subject to the public. Unaided either by the talents or influence which many English travellers who visited Italy last year possessed, my desultory and unconnected remarks have nothing to recommend them but *truth*. It is with this conviction, and my anxiety to avert those evils likely to arise from that political system so justly apostrophised—

Monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen adeptum!

which Italy now presents, that I have ventured to subjoin the note at the end of the volume, in the hope of its attracting the attention of those who have more ample means of illustrating the important subjects to which it alludes. Should my feeble efforts happily awaken the literati of this country to a just sense of what they owe to that of Dante, Petrarch, and Galileo, I am thoroughly convinced the great powers of Europe will not be appealed to in vain, by an energetic and dignified expression of that opinion which has been so often and successfully exerted in the cause of truth and humanity.

Although some years have elapsed since I have ventured to appear before the public in the character of a writer, I cannot forget the extreme liberality with which my first literary effort was received. In returning my best thanks to those gentlemen who were kind enough to notice a book, written with precisely the same object as the present, that of serving the European community, I cannot pay them a more flattering compliment, than by observing, that the

matter it contained appeared sufficiently important to cause the defects of style and composition to be overlooked. Having said thus much, it is but fair to add, that these remarks are not made with any view to avert the salutary eye of criticism.

However I may have failed in doing justice to the original, it is hoped the typographical and ornamental part of this volume will meet the reader's approbation. Both the View of Algiers, and Plan of the late Attack, are from the designs of a distinguished amateur artist, who has had every facility of doing justice to his subject: so that independent of their merits as specimens of art, their accuracy may be depended on. The Map has also many pretensions to correctness. It was originally drawn by a person long resident in Algiers, and has received considerable additions from others of a more recent date in my own possession.

Having thus endeavoured to give the reader an idea of what he is to expect from a perusal of the following pages, much more might be said in extenuation of the numerous sins of omission and commission, which will no doubt be laid to the author's charge, as well as to that of his very inadequate translator; but it is high time to conclude: and as the ingenious and learned author of Vulgar Errors, says, "We are unwilling to spin out our waking thoughts into the Phantasms of Sleep, which often continueth Precogitations, making Cables of Cobwebs, and Wildernesses of handsome Groves. And lastly," by way of reply to criticism, "we are not Magisterial in opinions, nor have we *Dictator-like* obtruded our conceptions; but in the humility of enquiries or disquisitions have only proposed them unto more ocular discerners. And therefore, opinions are free, and open it is for any one to think or declare the contrary!"

Plates

WHICH ILLUSTRATE THIS WORK

1. A PICTURESQUE VIEW OF ALGIERS,..... to face the Title.

2. MAP OF THE REGENCY OF ALGIERS,..... PAGE 101

3. PLAN OF THE CITY AND FORTIFICATIONS OF ALGIERS, and of the Stations taken by the Combined Fleets, under the Command of LORD EXMOUTH at the Attack, on the 27th August, 1816..... 393

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

LIFE is a book, says Goldsmith, of which he, whose observations have been merely confined to his native country, has only read a single page; and travellers are aptly compared to those streams, which become grand and more majestic, in proportion as they wander from their original sources, increasing their salutary and useful qualities as they proceed. Hence, enterprizing individuals, anxious to improve themselves, and add to the knowledge of others, have not been deterred in their favourite pursuit, either by the Polar ice, or the burning sun of the Equator, the lofty summits of the Andes, or unfrequented waters of the Southern Ocean. There is, however, one quarter of the globe, which has, hitherto, terrified many, and baffled the utmost efforts of the most resolute adventurers; and that is Africa. Nearly all those who have ventured into this highly interesting continent, have either found a melancholy grave, or encountered the greatest personal calamities; and the public has had successively to deplore the premature fate of Houghton, Horneman, Park, Roentgen, and several others. The access to this extraordinary region is impeded by a thousand obstacles and difficulties, almost unknown to other quarters. Without many deep rivers or inland seas, Africa seems, as it were, closed to the genius of commerce and navigation; the Senegal, Niger, and Gambia, its principal streams, instead of passing over regular and even countries, are frequently

interrupted by rapid falls, ridges of rocks and shallows, which render it nearly impossible for vessels of the smallest size to ascend them: so that, whether we consider its various inequalities of soil and climate, extensive deserts and vast solitudes, mostly infested by venomous reptiles, or more ferocious beasts of prey; the infinite diversity of tribes which inhabit its surface, from the uncultivated savages of Caffraria and Angola, to the bigoted Mahometan or relentless Abyssinian, all equally inimical to friendly intercourse with strangers; innumerable perils are still opposed to the candidate for African discovery; which it is of the utmost importance to diminish, by prosecuting those researches and enquiries, illustrative of the manners and customs of the more civilized parts, between which and the interior, a constant intercourse is known to be kept up; possessing the additional advantage of being liable to fewer interruptions, than have been so lamentably experienced in attempting to penetrate from other quarters.

By far the most beautiful part of Africa, that nearest to Europe; a country which was once the abode of a polished and civilized people; that from whence, rather than Sierra Leone or Egypt, it would be least difficult to trace the source of the Niger, and follow its course, or pass into other parts of the interior; as proved by the progress of the Romans; a country rich in classic recollections, and the choicest productions of nature; which, in other days, contained the intellectual spirit of Greece and Rome, filling the granaries of the latter; which, united by commercial and political ties, is still abundantly capable of ministering to the wants and luxuries of the European family: such is the immense and fertile coast of Barbary, which, by a singular fatality, is still in possession of a race, the most cruel and inhospitable. This extensive region, divided into nominal kingdoms, is

governed by a set of monsters, who vie with each other in the deepest hatred and bitterest hostility towards Christianity and civilization. Thus placing a ruinous barrier between two great divisions of the earth; and, as many have truly said, been hitherto the principal, and perhaps only cause of Africa's being so inaccessible to Europeans.

But now that the affairs of the world are re-established on their ancient basis; when the great monarchs of Europe are united in holy alliance, doubtless with the paternal design of perpetuating the pure doctrines, and rational morality of the Evangelists; now that the reign of peace, and dominion of justice has once more illumined the political horizon; it is surely incompatible with such beneficent views, any longer to tolerate self-appointed chiefs of banditti, under the specious title of regular governments; whose characteristic brutality, and lawless violence, is constantly occupied in disturbing the domestic happiness and moral order of society. Such a supposition is as repugnant to the interests of humanity, as it is to the progress of knowledge, and pre-eminently enlightened character of the present age.

Reason and political wisdom cannot any longer permit such numerous hordes of plunderers to exercise their depredations with impunity, in the centre of the globe, bordering upon all that is refined and estimable in our nature; and that benign philosophy which has abolished the iniquitous traffic of our black fellow creatures, is loudly called upon to banish a still greater evil, the slavery of the whites! The voice of friendly admonition has been vainly reiterated to those governments, and a terrible example made of the most guilty. But can we place any permanent reliance on the oft plighted and more often broken faith of such monsters? Is peace the interest of

governments, whose very establishment is founded upon the law of the strongest, plunder and proscription? It is indeed sincerely to be wished that a long and perpetual one may continue towards the debilitated states of Italy, and unprotected Hanse Towns. But it is also of the first consequence to become thoroughly acquainted with the objects of our just apprehension: in order clearly to ascertain the best measures of precaution against their machinations, let us besides keep in mind the crying injuries we have for so long a period experienced at the hands of these merciless people, as another means of guarding against future aggression.

Under all these considerations, it will not perhaps be either useless or uninteresting to narrate the circumstances attending a late voyage to the inauspicious coast of Barbary, made by a person, who was transported thither by one of those dreadful calamities, which, to the shame of civilization, human nature has been for many centuries doomed ineffectually to deplore. In the following pages the author proposes to describe what he has witnessed, and draw as faithful a picture as he can of the melancholy scenes and dreadful atrocities which his evil genius destined him to see in one of the piratical states. Those parts of his work which relate to government, manners and customs, or the interior which he had no opportunity of visiting, are derived from the best and most intelligent authorities he could find during his residence in Algiers; and he is only induced to offer them from a conviction of their authenticity. The whole is submitted to the public with those imperfections which are, no doubt, profusely scattered through the work; but however multiplied these may be, the author confidently relies on the impartiality of its decision in favour of a book written for the sole purpose of aiding the cause of religion, justice, and humanity.

CONTENTS.

PAGE.

CHAPTER I.

Memoirs.—Origin of the Voyage.—Fatal Delay.—THAMES.—The Ocean.—Continuance of the Voyage.—Rencontre.—Coast of FEZ.—Straits and Bay of GIBRALTAR.—Passage up the MEDITERRANEAN.—Arrival at the Island of SAN PIETRO 1

CHAPTER II.

Imprudent Departure from SAN PIETRO.—Presentiments.—Appearance of the Algerine Squadron.—Captured by the Pirates.—Captives taken before the Grand Rais or Admiral.—First Night on board the Corsair.—Second Day.—Storm.—Naval Engagement.—Union of the Captives.—Treatment on board the Corsairs of Barbary.—Situation improved.—Hope.—The RAIS HAMIDA.—Coast of ITALY.—Council of War.—Dispute between TUNIS and ALGIERS.—Historical Notice of Tunis.—Revolution there.—The Squadron appears before TUNIS, and retires.—Coasting, and Arrival at BONA 27

CHAPTER III.

Arrival in ALGIERS.—Landing.—Appearance before the Heads of the Government.—Prison of the Slaves.—First Day in Slavery.—The Employment.—Hours of Repose.—Public Works.—Liberation.—Arrival at the British Consulate.—Lost Riches.—Still greater Losses.—Consolations.—Unfortunate Companions.—Mode of living at ALGIERS 64

PAGE.

CHAPTER IV.

Christian Slavery in ALGIERS.—Its physical and moral Effects.—Observations on the Ransom and Liberation effected by the Expedition under LORD EXMOUTH.—Remarks on the various Accounts of BARBARY hitherto published.—Object and Motives of the Author in laying his Account before the Public, &c. 88

CHAPTER V.

BARBARY.—Derivation of its Name.—Soil, and Climate.—Short View of its general History, and of ALGIERS in particular.—Geographical Description.—Monuments and Remains of Antiquity.—The Capital described 101

CHAPTER VI.

Fossils, Minerals, and other natural Productions of BARBARY.—Trees and Vegetables.—The Lotus and Palm Tree.—Domestic Animals.—The Barb, Camel, and Dromedary.—Wild Animals.—Birds, Reptiles, Scorpions, and Locusts..... 116

CHAPTER VII.

Desert of ANGAD.—Hardships in crossing the SAHARA, or Great Desert.—Caravans.—The Simoom.—Various Phenomena attending it.—Columns of Sand.—The Oasis.—Temple of Ammon.—Consolations in the Desert.—MOUNT ATLAS.—Country South of it, &c. 139

CHAPTER VIII.

Different People of BARBARY.—Blacks.—Jews.—Christians.—Renegadoes.—Turks.—Chiloulis.—Berberi.—Bedouin Arabs.—Their Mode of Living.—Male and Female Costume.—Various Superstitions.—Occupations of the ARABS.—Riches.—Marriages among them.—Characteristic Anecdotes 153

PAGE.

CHAPTER IX.

Account of the Kabiles and Arab Tribes.—The Himas.—Tents.—Dowers.—Encampments.—Dascaas, or Arab Villages.—The Sheiks.—The Plundering Arabs.—Anecdotes respecting them 181

CHAPTER X.

Description of the Moors.—Their Figure and Character.—Male and Female Costume.—Head Dress and Toilet.—Habitations.—Particular Manners and Customs.—Marriages amongst the Moors, &c. 196

CHAPTER XI.

Funeral Ceremonies and Lamentations over the Dead in BARBARY.—Mourning of Widows.—Vows of Friendship and Fidelity made on the Graves of departed Relatives.—Table of the Moors.—Cuscousu.—Pillaw and Basseen.—Use of Sugar and Spices.—Yemen Coffee.—Amusements of the Moors.—Method of enticing Birds.—Chess, and other Games of Chance.—Social Meetings.—The Kiosco.—Barber's Shops.—Moorish Baths.—Mode of Bathing.—Baths frequented once a Week by the Women.—Singers, and Dancing Girls.—Itinerant Story Tellers.—The Bastinado.—Life of the rich Moor 215

CHAPTER XII.

Moorish Beauty.—Eyes and Features, Corpulency, and Mode of Fattening up before Marriage.—Criterion to judge of a fine Woman.—Complexion.—Embellishments extraordinary.—Comparison with European Ladies.—Vanity the ruling Principle.—Unhappy Condition of the Women in Barbary; their State of Servitude and ill Treatment.—Ideas of the Moors with regard to their Creation.—Their premature old Age.—Their Jealousy.—Ridiculous Precautions to prevent Women from being seen or spoken to.—Inevitable Consequence of being discovered in an Intrigue.—Story of a Tunisian Lady.—Susceptibility and Power of Love.—Moorish Houses favourable to Intrigue.—Argusses occasionally outwitted.—Affectionate Conduct of the Moorish Ladies towards their Husbands, &c. 232

PAGE.

CHAPTER XIII.

State of Agriculture in ALGIERS.—Imperfect Mode of Ploughing.—Wine.—Butter.—Oil.—Olive Trees.—Method of enriching the Land.—Different Trades and Manufactures.—Otto of Roses.—Commerce.—Exports and Imports.—Traffic with the Interior of Africa.—Method of Dealing.—Circulating Medium.—Clipping.—Letters and Sciences.—Arab Writers.—Hints on Civilization.—Anecdote.—The Pen.—The Alfagui.—Their Pedantry.—The Thibibs.—Medical Treatment in BARBARY.—Anecdotes, &c. 245

CHAPTER XIV.

State of the Arts in BARBARY.—Curious Cement and Glue.—Languages of Northern Africa.—Anecdote.—Moorish Music.—Different Instruments.—Singing.—Islamism.—Ridiculous Customs.—Strict Observance of Fasts.—Sanctuary afforded by Mosques, &c.—Holy City.—Paradise of Musselmen.—Pilgrimage to MECCA.—Order of the March, and Allusion to the Ceremonies performed there.—Marabouts.—Anecdote.—Vaili, or Saints, their Hypocrisy illustrated.—Facility of being canonized in BARBARY.—The Mufti.—Their Office and Powers.—Mode of deciding legal Questions and administering the Laws.—The Imans.—The Muezzins, and Hours of Prayer.—The Koran.—Short Analysis of its Contents.—Anecdote of Dorat, the French Poet.—Commentators on the Koran, &c. 263

CHAPTER XV.

Nature of the Algerine Government.—Its Character.—The Regency.—Divan.—Power of the Dey.—His Election, and Mode of conducting it.—Attributes and Prerogatives of the Dey.—Method of administering Justice.—Cause of his Popularity.—Dangers which environ a Dey's Person.—Anecdotes of some late Chiefs.—Fascinations of Power and Ambition.—Reply of a Polish Monarch.—Account of Ali Bassa, the reigning Dey.—His Death.—Anecdotes.—Notice of Ali's Successor, Mezouli.—Omar Aga.—The Council of State.—By whom it is generally composed.—Effects of a Dey's being dethroned.—Various Political Reflections.—Account of the different Officers composing the Dey's Administration.—Mode of the Consuls applying for Redress.—Description of inferior Officers.—General Character of the Dey's Ministers.—Remarks.—Anecdotes, &c. 286

PAGE.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Divan.—Its Character as a representative Body.—By whom composed.—Mode of assembling.—Discussion, and Collection of the Votes.—Revenues.—The Beys. —Their Rapacity.—Dey's Policy with regard to them.—The Caids, and their numerous Oppressions.—Account of the Chiaux, or Dey's Messengers.—Their Influence on the Multitude.—Reflections on Laws and Government.—Algerine Code.—The Cadi.—Their Appointment and Functions.—Civil Process in Barbary. —Ignorance of the Judges, and novel Mode of deciding Causes.—Remarks and Anecdotes.— Criminal Process.—Punishments inflicted for various Crimes.—Consequences of Adultery and Infidelity in the Females.—Punishment of Treason. —Debtors.—How treated.—Anecdote of Ibrahim Dey.—Effect of the Dey's personal Administration of Justice.—Anecdote of Cheban Dey.—Defects of the Algerine Law.—Excessive Severity of some Punishments.—Police Regulations of ALGIERS.—Nightly Patroles.—Espionage and Informers.—Subterfuges of arbitrary Power. 307

CHAPTER XVII.

Financial System of ALGIERS.—Various Modes of raising Money.—Hints to modern Financiers.—The Hasena, or public Treasury.—Reflections on the Advantages of hoarding.—Different Sources of the Dey's Revenue.—His praiseworthy Forbearance.—Anecdote of a Persian Prince.—Thoughts on the Use of Public Money. —Military Force of ALGIERS.—The Oldack, and Ortes.—Zouavi.—The Aga. —His Functions, and Mode of being replaced.—Account of the AGA del Campo, and Caia.—Mode of rewarding the Services of old Officers in ALGIERS.—Their Privileges.—Boulouc Bashas, and Vekilardi.—Method of obtaining Rank and Promotion under the Algerine Government.—Cursory Ideas on the Subject of Military Regulations in all Countries.—Quarters and Allowance of the Soldiery.—Their Pay.—Punctuality with which the Arrears are paid.—Ceremony observed on these Occasions.—Gradual Increase of the Soldier's Remuneration.—Different Modes of adding to it, and his Prospect of future Repose.—Account of the Algerine Army.—By whom composed.—Bedouin Cavalry.—Annual Operations to collect the Tribute, plunder the Tribes, &c.—Punishments awarded by the Caia.— Order of the March.—General Treatment of the Soldiery.—Its Effects.—Qualities of the Dey's Army.—Its Operations left to the Direction of the General.—Councils of War.—Mode of Encamping, and Order of Battle.—Method of attacking, and

PAGE.

re-forming when put into Disorder.—General Character of the Algerine Soldiers.—Anecdote of an Italian Chief.—Character of the Turkish Militia.—Their Power over the Moorish Population.—Reflections.—Allusion to the Victories of Cheban Dey.—Characteristics of the Janizaries.—The various Advantages enjoyed by them over other Soldiers of Fortune. 326

CHAPTER XVIII.

Piracy.—The natural State of the Barbary Governments.—Their Political Maxims.—Their Interest in going to War.—Mode of declaring it, and making Reprisals.—Treatment of European Consuls and Subjects.—Method of justifying their Policy with respect to Foreign Powers.—Mode of carrying on Hostilities.—Argument in favour of it.—Northern Africa always the Retreat and Abode of Pirates.—Cursory View of their Depredations.—Of Captures.—Their Sale, and Distribution of Prize Money.—Mode of disposing of Slaves.—The Basistan.—Tegorarini—Occupation of Christian Captives.—Of Ransoming.—The Fathers of Redemption, or Trinity.—Their mode of proceeding in ALGIERS.—Efforts of the Author and others to promote the Liberation of Sicilian Slaves.—Allusion to the Exertions of the British Government to emancipate them.—Remarks in praise of the Conduct of those Italian Sovereigns, who have made Peace with the Barbary Powers.—Various useful Hints to those who become Slaves.—Best Time of escaping.—Probable Result of a well organized Combination amongst the Christian Slaves at ALGIERS.—Observations, &c. 343

CHAPTER XIX.

Military and Naval Power of the Barbary States.—TRIPOLY.—MOROCCO.—Thoughts on the Views of the latter State.—Relations of the above States with ALGIERS and each other.—Origin of their Independence.—Influence of the OTTOMAN PORTE over the Barbarians.—Nature of its Relations with them.—Various Reflections on the Grand Seignor's Policy.—State of Political Relations between the Pirates and different European Governments. 359

CHAPTER XX.

Departure from ALGIERS.—Feelings on quitting Companions in Misfortunes.—Passage to MINORCA.—Arrival at PORT MAHON.—Entrance into the Lazzaretto.—Anecdote of a modern Traveller.—Theatrical Scenes.—Liberal Conduct of an

PAGE.

English Consul.—Some Account of MINORCA, and those with whom the Author became acquainted there.—Sir Sidney Smith.—Embarks on board an English Ship.—Passage to SICILY, and Arrival in PALERMO.—Various Reflections on the Civil and Political State of the above Island.—Departure from SICILY.—Reflections during the Voyage.—Arrival at Ponza, together with some Account of that Island.—Return to TUSCANY and Reflections suggested by it..... 369

CHAPTER XXI.

Recent Conduct and new Insults of the Barbary Powers.—Negociations of Lord Exmouth, and General Sir Thomas Maitland.—Bombardment of ALGIERS.—Submission of the Dey.—Observations on the Treaties lately made between the European Powers and Barbary States.—Remarks on the Conduct of Great Britain, compared with that of other Governments.—Singular Enigma.—Reflections suggested by it.—Necessity of taking greater Precautions than those already adopted.—How far we are justified in relying on the Faith of Treaties.—Morality of a Barbary Chief.—His Motto.—Actual Disposition of these Powers, manifested by their general Conduct..... 388

CHAPTER XXII.

ITALY more exposed than ever to the Depredations of the Barbary Corsairs.—Consequences of no more Captives being made.—Prisoners of War.—Their probable Treatment by the Barbarians.—Illustrations.—Necessity, Justice, and Utility of more powerful Measures.—Various Reflections; and Anecdote of an English Seaman.—Importance to Europe of colonizing Northern Africa.—Its amazing Fecundity.—Facility of penetrating into the Interior from that Direction.—Splendor of the Enterprize.—Its Advantages to Antiquarian Research, Science, and the useful Arts.—Observations, &c..... 406

CHAPTER XXIII.

Difficulties likely to attend the Enterprize.—Remarks on the Moorish Character.—Observations on the Result of those Expeditions hitherto sent against the Infidels.—Want of Union, and popular Nature of the Barbary Governments favourable

PAGE.

to an invading Army.—Reasons why the Moors are not likely to adhere to the Fortunes of their present Rulers.—As easy for the united Powers of Europe to colonize Northern Africa, as it was for single Nations of other Times to do so.—Hints to an invading Force.—Best Time to effect a Landing.—Kind of Warfare most adapted to Africa.—Necessity of Perseverance.—Importance of calling in the Aid of Political Intrigue.—Comparison between the Moors and savage Nations.—Probability of the former's adopting European Manners and another Religion.—Singular Tradition prevalent in Barbary.—Recollections by which an European Army would be animated on landing in Africa.—Why that part of the World is not as susceptible of undergoing a great political Change as other Countries.—Necessity of employing a sufficient Force, and of the Powers of Europe being unanimous in the Cause.—Nations that ought to direct the League.—Reflections..... 417

CHAPTER XXIV.

Author's Motives for proposing the Colonization of NORTHERN AFRICA.—Most equitable Line of Policy to be pursued, should a Descent ever be made in that Country.—Anecdote and Reflections.—Appeal to Princes, Ministers, People, Philosophers, Orators, Poets, and periodical Writers of every Country.—Eulogium on the Anti-Piratical Institution.—Conclusion..... 429

Henry Parke. Engraved by Sidney Hall.

PLAN OF THE CITY AND FORTIFICATIONS OF ALGIERS,

ing the stations taken by the combined Fleets under the command of Admiral Lord Viscount Exmouth at the attack on the 27th of Augt 1816.

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NARRATIVE

OF

A VOYAGE TO ALGIERS.

CHAPTER I.

*Memoirs.—Origin of the Voyage.—Fatal Delay.—*THAMES.*—The Ocean.—Continuance of the Voyage.—Rencontre.—Coast of* FEZ.*—Straits and Bay of* GIBRALTAR.*—Passage up the* MEDITERRANEAN.*—Arrival at the Island of* SAN PIETRO.

WE are daily in the habit of hearing people exclaim: "*What strange adventures mine have been! Why, Sir, my life is a perfect romance! I have really a great mind to write my history!*" When those who have played an important part in the theatre of life, and made sublime experiments on fortune, fall from power and splendor, they naturally enough become a prey to *ennui:* in order, however, to shed a little light on the obscurity of their retreat, to preserve some recollection of that name, glory, and even life; which, to use the expression of Pope, seems to breathe from other lips; they take to writing their warlike and political actions—and being no longer able to wield the sword or staff of office, have recourse to the pen: removed from the worldly stage, by choice or necessity, they assume the more modest part of authors. Hence the numberless volumes constantly appearing with the flattering titles of *Memoirs, Historical, Political and Military; including the campaigns of Gene-*

*ral *****, written by himself. Mes reflexions, mon portefeuille, mes pensées, mes souvenirs!* &c.

Far from being able to boast of public notoriety, I have found myself fallen to the lowest ebb of fortune, and shall accordingly detail my ill-fated adventures; but the following narrative will only include a short period, which was, however, the most tempestuous of my whole life, if that which has been so fraught with struggles and calamity is worthy of the name! A certain people of antiquity only counted their days of happiness; amongst whom, a wise man on the point of death, wrote this epitaph for himself: *I have passed fifty-six years, and lived four!* All who contend in the stormy sea of human vicissitude, may be compared to those emblems of alternate happiness and misery, who, after having tasted nectar, at the table of the gods, sorrowfully descended into the region of shadows; joy and pleasure passes over the heart like the transient breath of zephyrs; while it is furrowed by endless griefs and bitter cares.

Shakspear has somewhere observed, that felicity comes slowly, and in silence, advancing on tiptoe like a nocturnal visitant; while misfortune attacks in close battalions, those, who are destined to be the victims of its inflexible decrees.

Man is a querulous and dissatisfied animal! The most common exclamations of the day are, "*Oh, what times! What places! What people! What women! What devils!*" We are always tired of the situation in which we are, and vainly wishing to be where we are not. By a strange fatality, connected with that love of change so peculiar to our nature, it occurred to myself, and a few others of my countrymen to abandon England; that envied nation, which has alone remained unshaken, amidst the political agitations of surrounding states, and generously opened its bosom to the exiled wanderers of other countries, equally fostering the native plant, and foreign stem, blown upon its coast by the revolutionary tempest. Yes! anxious once more to behold my native land, and breathe the delightful

air of an Italian sky, I no longer remembered the words of a celebrated poet that,

Bramo di meglio star, rende infelice;

or, that we can no where be so well situated as amongst our friends. It was reserved for me to learn, by bitter experience, that happiness has its source within ourselves, and does not proceed from without; but we do not know how to collect the pure stream, or direct its natural and easy course. It is said, that an eastern monarch once offered a large reward to any of his subjects, who would come before him and swear they had enjoyed constant happiness: two persons presented themselves, a husband and his wife; these attested that, united by the tender ties of matrimony, their felicity had long equalled that of the golden age, and they were perfectly reconciled to their condition. "If so," replied the king, "and you are as happy as you pretend to be, you would not have come in search of my proffered riches; no, you have wants, desires, and ambition; go, therefore, you are not the fortunate beings I look for, and for whose appearance I shall most likely have yet to wait a long time."

The project was at first a mere fugitive idea; one of those fancies which often obtrude themselves to fill up a blank in the cold monotony of life. It would, like many others of a similar description, have fallen to the ground, if more maturely considered, had not two false and interested *friends*, of whom there are so many, ever ready to betray the incredulous, stimulated the execution, and finally succeeded, by pretexts the most specious and absurd, in persuading me to sacrifice friends, fortune, and tranquillity, for the delusive hope of future advantage, destined, alas! to terminate in ruin and disappointment. I have heard of a literary character, who kept a small book, which he called the "*catalogue of his friends*," on the first page was written *Heart*, with two or three names under it; the second had *Table* on it; and the third *Purse*. The friends of the

table and purse had been very numerous, but were afterwards erased, on the fourth page was inscribed *Masks*, the names which followed filled the rest of the book; those of our friends who are attracted by the *table* and *purse*, may, with propriety, be placed under the fourth article of the *catalogue*. The proverb says, *where my friends are, there is my treasure*. It might be added, that sycophants only offer their friendship where something is to be gained. Such were the motives which actuated the persons to whom I am indebted for an opportunity of penning these memoirs. To a candid and honourable mind, in which suspicion has no place, nothing is so difficult to conceive, as the ingratitude of one whom you have assisted. I will not, however, deny the extent and weakness of my own credulity; and having suffered the fatal consequences of bad advice, merely wish to warn others by my example, *qui ne sait se résoudre aux conseils, s'abandonne;* and according to a Chinese proverb, the fool asks other people to explain the cause of his errors, while the wise man enquires within himself.*

From the superior accommodations, and its various other advantages, I had of course determined to take my passage in a British vessel; but this design was frustrated, by the officious zeal and baleful solicitude of my imaginary friends, who, by many arguments, which it is

* In this part of the original work, there is a very long note, in which the author minutely enters into a variety of little details, relative to the perfidious conduct of those people, who persuaded him to leave England; at a time when his interests could not have been better consulted than by remaining there. And although written with all the humorous energy of Mr. Pananti's pen, I have not thought it sufficiently connected with the great object of his memoirs, to be introduced in the translation. From what has been said, he may safely calculate upon the warmest sympathy of a nation, whose virtues he has so generously appreciated; and the paramount force of self-approbation must ultimately enable him to look down with a mixture of pity and contempt on his betrayers. Sincerely anxious to promote his happiness, I am sure the introduction of too much matter, purely of a personal nature, into a work of this description, could not in any way tend to that desirable object, while it might *destroy, in some measure,* the interest which its perusal will, I trust, be found calculated to excite in the English reader.—*Ed.*

now unnecessary to relate, prevailed on me to embark on board a Sicilian brig bound to Palermo, which was to sail with the first Mediterranean convoy, and this had already began to collect at Spithead. Having, therefore, made the usual preparations for a sea voyage, I hastened to join the other passengers, who were embarked at Gravesend, and had scarcely occupied my birth on board, when the master, without assigning any reason whatever, returned to London, and remained there three whole days, leaving us all in a state of the most painful anxiety, as to the alarming consequences that might result from the convoy's quitting Portsmouth before our arrival there. At length, when patience was exhausted, and we began seriously to think some accident had befallen our hero, he condescended to make his appearance, and, with a superficial apology, in which *patience* and *resignation* were modestly inculcated, resumed his nautical avocations. Thus, it too frequently happens with those who, like us, have committed themselves to the mercy of some ignorant merchant captain, and, without a previous enquiry into his character, been even prevailed on to advance the passage-money before sailing; to which circumstance we might with great justice attribute our ultimate hardships and disasters. Referring to the unblushing impudence of this man, in having thus attempted to excuse himself for keeping us waiting, while he was occupied in playing the fine gentleman on the *pavè* of the metropolis, it is also a striking illustration of the extreme facility with which most people become reconciled to themselves, without a very scrupulous regard to the feelings of others; every thing is now accommodated by the laconic phrase of: "*I beg your pardon!*" Does any one jostle up against you in the street, and endanger a limb, he begs pardon and passes on, as if nothing had happened. Another makes you wince again, by unmercifully treading on an ill-fated corn: this is coolly compromised by, "*really, Sir, I humbly beg pardon, but I didn't mean it!*" If in argument any one takes the words out of your mouth, and by a flat contradiction, plausibly gives you the lie, he merely *begs pardon:* so it is with the intruder on your

studies, or more importunate creditor; all in this world is rendered palatable by asking pardon, and I am even obliged to solicit that of the reader, for this unseasonable digression.

While thus impatiently looking forward to the moment of sailing, what was our mortification on seeing the departure of the convoy announced? The so much dreaded event, which at once exposed us to the danger of crossing the ocean without protection, and liable to capture by numerous enemies, our only consolation in this dilemma, was a pompous oration from the skipper, who differed from us in toto as to the perils of our impending situation, and triumphantly concluded several impertinent remarks, by drawing his own panegyric, in which after deriding our childish apprehensions, he represented himself as a most experienced seaman, and so excellent a navigator, that in addition to his perfect knowledge of the winds, stars, latitudes, and longitudes, he recollected all the bays, headlands, rocks, and shoals in our course, as well as his *avemaria!* He doubtless, in this moment of exultation, fancied himself another Typhis; and like Cæsar seemed to imagine that his fortune would carry us through every difficulty. Without entering into the merits of this boaster, we soon after had many opportunities of witnessing the usual effect of pride and presumption; for notwithstanding all his gasconading, he was guilty of innumerable blunders during the whole course of the voyage. That which a Parisian wit said of an author, who had been much praised for a forthcoming production, which totally disappointed public expectation, might with equal propriety be applied to our Palinurus:—*Nous lui avons avancé des grands fonds, il nous a fait banqueroute.*

The vessel's name was the Hero, and by a singular coincidence of rhetorical contrivance, it was also that of the commander. We had, however, no cause to congratulate ourselves on his *soi-disant* attributes, and would have most willingly dispensed with such flattering epithets for a little more solidity. Without being the first who had been sacrificed to the folly or ambition of a hero; this was not the only occa-

sion in which I was taught to consider that, as the most fatal present which Providence can bestow on mankind.

Having, at length, got under weigh, we proceeded down the Thames. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more interesting spectacle than is presented by this magnificent stream, with its prodigious number of shipping, concentrating as it were the commercial spirit of the universe, and whose masts form a perfect forest from London bridge, till you descend several miles. There is even an indescribable majesty in the stately undulation of this beautiful river, which is not a little heightened by the romantic and picturesque objects that adorn its banks, often the theme of poetic admiration: it has no where been described with more force and dignity than in the celebrated Cooper's Hill of Sir John Denham:

> Tho' deep yet clear, tho' gentle yet not dull,
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full.

I have ever been a passionate admirer of running waters, so instrumental in keeping up the communication, and maintaining the prosperity of states. The philosopher gravely meditates on the succeeding wave, and rapidity of the passing stream. Poets delight to wander under the melancholy shade of the drooping willow; the exile, the lover, and the wretched, sigh in unison with the murmuring cascade,

Super flumina Babilonis sedimus et flevimus!

Rivers have a great analogy to the heart, and reflections of the earthly pilgrim. They seem to accompany our wandering thoughts; reminding us of the rapidity of life, and its more fleeting pleasures: they are, in fact, the image of human vicissitudes. Men, their concerns, events and interests, are precipitated, clash, and succeed each other like the ceaseless torrent; even nations may be said to flow and pass on to the ocean of time, finally losing themselves in the vast sea of oblivion.

Having quitted the Thames, and sailed along the coast of Kent, we had a fine view of Dover cliff, immortalized in the sublime verses of Shakspeare, and in which some poets have recognized the genius of Albion, like a colossus, extending its hospitable arms to friendly nations. Adieu! great and powerful sovereign of the ocean; adieu, happy country, in which the law governs, and is tempered by mercy; where a protecting genii still cherishes that divine spark of '*heavenly flame,*' which, according to Plato, is developed in those climates favourable to liberty and virtue; where, in fine, as observed by the Prince de Ligne, prosperity, freedom, and abundance, appear to contend for pre-eminence; and from which wealth, beauty, and intellect ought long since to have banished that splenetic and morbid melancholy, which has sometimes been laid to the charge of its national character. Farewell, dear and respected friends, who by so many proofs of benevolent attention, will ever live in my warmest recollections. That your evening of life may not be interrupted by any of those clouds which impede the progress of happiness: Yes! my kind friends, gratitude and affection bid me express an ardent hope that yours may be a tranquil day, so justly merited by hearts fraught with honour and generosity.*

* Such are the very flattering sentiments of gratitude and applause, suggested by the liberal and discriminating mind of Mr. Pananti, forming a most striking contrast with the conduct of many French emigrants, who had much more reason to sing the praises of Great Britain; and have, since the restoration of the Bourbons, either forgotten or despised that credulous benefactress, when no longer required to support their broken fortunes. Many of our countrymen, whom the travelling *mania* have induced to give up the unequalled comforts of England, for the insult, robbery, and extortion of the continent, will bear me out in asserting that gratitude is not a prevailing characteristic of *La grande Nation:* a fact strongly exemplified in the conduct of great numbers of emigrants, amongst whom, however, I feel much pleasure in acknowledging there are many, possessing both talents and virtue. While at Paris, in the summer of 1816, a young medical student, who had formerly been attached to the military profession, and for six weeks gratuitously attended the Count M———, after a severe fall from his horse, and whom the capricious wheel has placed in the household of *Louis le desiré*, took occasion, in consequence of the previously extorted promise to that effect, to leave his card at the Count's, then basking in

The ancients had two amiable divinities, sacred to absence and separation: one of these consoling deities, presided over those tender friends, whose parting was blended with hopes of meeting again. The other supported those who were left behind, and destined to anticipate the beloved object's return. Let us indulge a hope, that such soothing genii have not ceased to sympathize in our feelings, and that their influence is still exerted over kindred minds, whose hearts,

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the rays of the Tuileries. Some days after M. *le Compte* returned the visit, and after expending a volume of unmeaning compliments, during which *tout ce qu'il avoit* was liberally placed at the disposal of my friend Mr. B———, he retired with a solemn request that whenever he was inclined to see the opera, he had only to send for the Count's key! This, I venture to say, is a fair specimen of that kind of return which many others have experienced under similar circumstances; and I defy the lying and ignorant scribbler of *Quinze Jours*, and *Six Mois à Londres*, to disprove it; who, by the way of at once making himself popular in France, and displaying his exquisite knowledge in the fine arts, modestly asserts that the sign-post decorations of Vauxhall, equalled any thing he saw at the Spring Garden exhibition!!! If the wretched followers of the contemptible Pillet, who in a note prefixed to the last edition of *Six Mois à Londres*, say with equal modesty and truth, that "*tous les Anglais de bonne foi*," agree to the principal points of his execrable trash, I would recommend the consideration of anecdotes like the above, which tend in some small degree to unmask a nation, that has hitherto exclusively arrogated to itself the first rank in gallantry and politeness.

Having alluded to travelling, I cannot close this note, without cordially joining in that strong feeling of regret, which the thoughtless spirit of emigration has so justly excited in every unbiassed friend of his country: a spirit which, I venture to prophecy, will in the end be more injurious to the happiness of its advocates, than to the nation: which, however severely it may *now* feel their absence, must, in the course of a little time, learn to despise those, who having fattened on its prosperity, leave it at a period of national distress, when their continuance at home could not fail to have been eminently beneficial to the community. The easy facility with which so many families of opulence and distinction continue to squander the treasures of the mother country on the continent, is certainly not the most amiable feature of the times we live in. And upon what pretences do they justify such a line of conduct? Change of air, cheap living, and the education of their children! The absurd futility of these reasons, will, I am sure, be acknowledged by two thirds of the English residents now in France: which number, if the mass of information I have received be correct, have abundant cause to regret their having ever left England. When the arrangements which oblige them to remain there for the present, are at an end, it is hoped that the salutary experience of emigration, aided by some small sense of patriotism, will lead to their return. To parents and guardians I would briefly

no distance should separate. The last glance of England, was by myself and companions, attended with a feeling of regret only to be conceived by those in similar situations. If, says an ingenious living poet,* *Adieu*, dare not be pronounced; it ought to be at least indicated by a sigh; expressed, it should expire on the lips; and when written, be blotted out with a tear!

To those unpracticed in a sea life, the moment which detaches

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say, that a knowledge of French, dancing, and music, are but ill exchanged for the destruction of morals. And as to the uniform hatred to England, constantly manifested by extortion, abuse, and shameful partiality, it is too notorious to require illustration. The public has been made tolerably well acquainted with the demoralized state of our neighbours, their thorough contempt of religion, and all those minor virtues dependant on it, by which society can alone be held together. With all this before their eyes, from the most authentic sources, individuals can have no excuse for seeking that happiness abroad, which they have hitherto looked for in vain, except by moderating their views, and quietly sitting down in their own country. What would one of those scribbling calumniators, who have been enriched by abusing the British nation, have said, if after having paid for his dinner in a London coffee-house, and when about to retire, he, together with his friend, were called upon to pay a *second* time, their decorous remonstrance had induced the landlord to call in a file of grenadiers, who after an unmerciful beating, dragged them to a dungeon six feet by eight, and keeping them three days without any communication with their friends, then condescended to turn them into the street, without farther redress or explanation? What, I will ask, would one of these barefaced liars say, if after having hired a boat to descend the Thames, embarked himself and property in it, paid the price of his agreement in advance, the boatman took an opportunity of landing him on the way, and then setting off without him, but taking off his effects; and who on being afterwards discovered with the *stolen goods* upon his person, was regularly consigned to the hands of justice, but quietly liberated in three days without the smallest punishment? What would any liberal Frenchman say, if either of the above circumstances had befallen him in London, as they have to others of my acquaintance in France? Which Mr. De C—— can attest, both instances having actually occurred during his own administration. Let us, therefore, hear no more of the Code Napoleon; but

.....rather bear those ills we have,
Than fly to others that we know not of. *Ed.*

* Mr. William Spencer, a friend of the author.——Some days after this sheet was revised, a writer in the Morning Chronicle favoured the public with the following neat paraphrase:

An adieu should in utterance die—
If written, but faintly appear—
Only heard in the burst of a sigh—
Only seen in the drop of a tear. *Ed.*

you from land, and all the busy scenes of social life, is particularly saddening; the landsman, thus thrown upon the pathless waste of waters, buffetted by winds and waves, and beset with a thousand perils, requires no small degree of fortitude successfully to bear up against his destiny. Sea-sickness too, that most intolerable of nautical evils, embittered by a monotonous recurrence of the same objects, all conspire to increase that horror which the inexperienced naturally feel towards the watery element; that voracious gulph which, indiscriminately swallows up the plundered wealth of nations, and the more honest fruits of toilful industry.

We considered ourselves as peculiarly wretched in being alone at this inauspicious and warlike period. Most people, on such occasions, look forward with pleasurable anxiety to the meeting of strange vessels, and prospects of again hearing the profound silence of the ocean broken by human voices. Not so with us:—launched forth in our crazy bark, on a track which swarmed with privateers, every sail that appeared, excited suspicion, and tended to keep us in a state of constant uneasiness.

It is true that amidst all this tedium and suffering, we were occasionally enlivened with the recollections inspired by several memorable spots that lay in our course. La Hogue, Cape St. Vincent, and Trafalgar, could not fail to revive the names of Rooke, Jervis and Nelson; and an ardent mind in traversing scenes so often renowned by British valour, might still fancy himself on the territory of Albion. The most original and deservedly popular poet of the present day, Lord Byron,* has, perhaps unintentionally, though with his usual

* It is no inconsiderable proof, if any were wanting, in favour of Lord Byron's extraordinary genius, that his poetry is sought after with avidity both in France, Germany, and Italy, while an unaccountable degree of ignorance seems to prevail in all these countries, with regard to the exact state of that branch of literature in the united kingdom, or the galaxy of genius which has adorned our poetical hemisphere during the last twenty years. Some months ago on the road between Florence and Rome, I accidentally passed an evening in the society of a celebrated literary character of Geneva, Mr. S——, who has not only been in England, but understands the language very well, and was not

elegance, pourtrayed the naval superiority of his country in the following beautiful lines:

> O'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea,
> Our thoughts as boundless, and our souls as free;
> Far as the breeze can bear the billows' foam,
> Survey our empire, and behold our home!
> These are our realms, no limits to their sway—
> Our flag the sceptre all who meet obey.

It is really grand to reflect on the profound and unconfined limits of the deep: with immensity over our head and beneath our feet, the splendor and majesty of the divine Architect is nowhere more conspicuous or sublime than in the endless expansion of the heavens, and immeasurable depths of the ocean.

Traversing the famous Bay of Biscay without encountering many of those inconveniences, of a high sea and tempestuous element, which voyagers generally complain of, we successively passed the Asturias, Galicia, and Estremadura, the sight of which gave rise to that sympathetic admiration, inspired by the glorious example of Spain, struggling for her long lost rights and liberties, against the unprovoked tyrant of those days, perhaps the most important political lesson of modern times, in which it was amply proved how much a whole people can do, when once and unanimously determined to support their liberties and maintain their independence. By whatever strange combinations of events and cruel fatality, Spain has since fallen from her proud station, and exhibited a melancholy proof of that degradation, which bad government can bring upon a nation; it will be the future historian's gratifying task to pay his just tribute of applause to the tried fidelity and unshaken courage of this brave people, unequalled in the heroic annals of Pelagius and the Cid. Our

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a little surprized, on repeating the names of Moore, Rogers, Southey, Campbell, Crabbe, Montgomery, and a host of other popular poets, to find that he had never heard many of those names before, or read their compositions! I confess I do not envy those, who living in an age when so many foolish books are read and written, are deprived of the exquisite pleasure, and intellectual improvement, which the English poets of the present day, are so pre-eminently capable of affording to the reader of every country.—*Ed.*

vicinity to Corunna and Ferrol recalled to mind the names of many celebrated chiefs who will long live in Spanish story, and were at this moment bravely contending for the restoration of their legitimate sovereign. Amongst others, Porlier, and Mina, the distinguished Guerilla leader; men, who were really entitled to the flattering epithet of *liberales*, and without whose patriotic efforts, Ferdinand the VIIth might have passed a few more years of his valuable life, in the dungeons of Napoleon Buonaparte.*

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* The very name of Spain, at the present crisis of its history, is sufficient, in the most ordinary mind, to awaken a thousand contending feelings of sorrow and indignation: of sorrow for the cruelly unmerited sufferings of a brave and generous people, doomed to see their late unexampled efforts in the great cause of European liberty and national independence, rewarded with political slavery on the one hand, and religious bigotry on the other: of indignation at the perfidious ingratitude manifested to ourselves in the total exclusion of our manufactures, and oppression of our merchants.† Yes! such has been the return to this country, whose best blood and treasure have been so profusely sacrificed to restore His Most Catholic Majesty Ferdinand the Seventh! while, strange anomaly! his government could not, even now, sustain itself without the continued support of England and her rich capitalists. The political history of the present time, involving, as it does, a heap of the most incongruous absurdities ever invented by the united follies of mankind, cannot be too faithfully handed down to posterity, as a salutary warning to all future generations. Another point, inseparably connected with the above, cannot be passed over in silence; I allude to the great cause of South American independence, that of the whole human race. By what blindness of heart and contempt of wisdom, have the European powers coldly witnessed the accumulated horrors of that bitter contest, which has for

† It is not perhaps generally known to the British public, that amongst the legal means adopted by the Spanish government, to improve its exhausted treasury, it some time ago levied a tax of *eight per cent.* of the whole value, on English cotton goods, for the permission of selling them in Spain, after the prohibitory laws were promulgated; while those very goods had paid the regular imposts on their original entry! It will also be *gratifying* to the admirers of Ferdinand, if any remain, to know, that in addition to the most rigorous measures now pursued against the introduction of British manufactures, a decree is in existence, by virtue of which, the farther privilege to sell those goods already prohibited, will finally cease in March. As a specimen of the dilapidated state of the Spanish treasury, and the utter impossibility in which its government finds itself of raising money, when the new Queen of Spain arrived at Cadiz from the Brazils, there were absolutely no means of paying the expences of her journey to Madrid; and her majesty would have had quietly to sit down there, had it not been for the well-timed generosity of the Roman consul, who advanced ten thousand dollars for this purpose. And yet such is the government that still indulges a hope of enslaving South America!!!

By the way of heightening the pleasures of our voyage, and adding to its already fatiguing sameness, we had several days calm in this quarter; which, by giving more time for reflection, did not serve to diminish our apprehension of being captured. The sage, says an eastern moralist, dreads a calm, while he travels with indifference and composure, in the tempest.

The wisdom of this maxim was somewhat exemplified by a violent storm, which arose, on our arrival on the coast of Portugal, along

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nearly six years, desolated the new world, without one solitary effort of a decided nature, to arrest the progress of an annihilation? Will all the hardened sophistry of idle declamation, attempt to assert, that a totally different line of conduct in the cabinets of Europe, was not prompted by the interests and duties of christianity; or that the state of the world, and advancement of civilization, did not fully justify, and even render necessary, a measure, which, emanating from the Congress of Vienna, would, in the mere shape of a declaration, have by a stroke of the pen, at once settled the simple question between Spain and her colonies? thus, saving to humanity the tears it has shed, during this monstrous and unnatural warfare; that body might have washed away some parts of the stain, caused by the transfer of Genoa, and other continental arrangements. The shallow artifices employed by those lukewarm politicians, who advocate our fatal policy in this struggle, can only be exceeded by the extreme futility of their reasoning in its justification, arising from that inexhaustible source of errors and of crimes—*state policy!*

Among many of those reasons assigned for the strict neutrality of this country, we are gravely warned of the consequences accruing to France, from the part she took in the dispute with our own colonies. This is one of the most feasible pretexts I have seen; and yet, after carefully examining its various bearings, will any man in his senses go so far as to say, that the French revolution, with all its massacres, would not have taken place, had the North Americans never revolted? Besides, are we to reap no benefit from experience like that of the last twenty-five years; or does the actual state of Europe bear any reasonable comparison with that of 1789? Surely there are periods in the history of nations, when the antiquated maxims of other days should not be adhered to in a totally different state of society? Every consideration of this momentous subject, undeniably shews, in my humble opinion, the sound policy, and absolute moral necessity of England's taking a new and decided part in this question. She has liberated Europe from the iron yoke of Buonaparte; let her now crown the work of immortality by standing up, and boldly proclaiming the independence of South America.

With respect to the jealousy which so glorious a measure might excite in our neighbours; and upon which it has been in *this* case found convenient to lay a particular stress; let *us* obey the dictates of honour and of justice; and the Divinity, who cannot look down with indifference upon such sacrifices, will be our best guarantee.

which our vessel was hurried with the utmost rapidity; not, however, without enabling us to enjoy a magnificent view of the rock of Lisbon, entrance of the Tagus, and beautiful coast adjoining: we even found ourselves in sight of the celebrated field of Vimiera, where the first flag of victory was unfurled, which has since immortalized the Hannibal and Fabius of the united kingdom. The charms of this scene were still farther embellished, by the appearance of two large convoys entering the Tagus. I regretted our not following their example, as I might then have had something to say of the city of Ulysses, and country of Camoens. I do not, however, intend to imitate some modern travellers, and amongst others, one upon whose diary the following remark was written :—*On Tuesday, the 15th, passed within ten miles of the Island of Borneo. N. B. The inhabitants appeared to be very handsome!*

A violent north-east gale, having driven us beyond the strait of Gibraltar, we had already advanced very considerably in the Atlantic, and began to apprehend, that the terrific genius of the waters, who had once opposed the progress of Vasco de Gama, might also come in contact with us poor wanderers. Being on rather a frequented track, the scene was a little varied one morning, by our meeting two English ships returning from India, one of whom sent their boat on

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Viewing this question, as it regards the general interests of the European family, there are many who assert, that our redundant population and exhausted commerce, have rendered that great continent indispensably necessary to our future support and commercial enterprize : so that, leaving out the innumerable other important points so closely connected with it, the most powerful motives of self-interest require our speedy interference, painfully anxious that our own beloved country should reap all the honor of so splendid an achievement. I have, in these few remarks, principally directed my attention to his majesty's government. But, in conclusion, I will venture to add, that nothing would more forcibly tend to regain the lost confidence of nations, than a simultaneous expression of the respective cabinets in favour of the persecuted Spanish colonies. If delayed but a very short time, it does not require much sagacity to foresee that the South Americans will inevitably obtain that for themselves, which the blind fatalism of European policy refused: then, indeed, we may have reason, ere long, to tremble for the consequences, to which a rallying point, so constituted, might give rise in the best regulated states of the Old World.—*Ed.*

board, and with that avidity, so natural to the nation, immediately enquired how they were going on in Europe, and whether we could by any possibility feast their eyes with the sight of a newspaper. As it happened, we were enabled to gratify them in both ways, as besides several papers, we had the pleasure of announcing the recent victories of Lord Wellington; the result of the Russian campaign, and first efforts of the German league; all apparently matters of the highest interest to our visitors, who confessed that a newspaper was then the most valuable present they could receive. It was curious thus, to have established a species of scientific and literary cabinet on the western ocean, in which the great concerns of Europe were as freely discussed and considered, as they could be in a British House of Commons. In return for our little attentions, they kindly presented us with some excellent Madeira, which, in addition to its other exhilarating qualities, enabled us to drink to the success of the allied armies, the progress of legitimate and moderate governments, to the health of our friends in London, Canton and Calcutta; that of the Brahmins of Benares, and the independent members of the English parliament! Having poured this grateful libation, we separated with all the regret of old acquaintances.

While in this situation, we were during the day, exposed to a scorching sun, which, besides its inconvenience, formed a striking contrast with the delightful serenity of the nights, which are wonderfully fine in these latitudes. An author has somewhere observed, that day was made for the voluptuous followers of paganism; while night, and the studded firmament, is calculated to inspire the professors of a purer doctrine. The immortality of the soul seems to be more clearly demonstrated in the starry heavens; the splendor of day dazzles the eyes of those who think they see into futurity.

Pursuing the voyage, and while endeavouring to regain our lost ground, the first land we made, was in the neighbourhood of Sallee, so famous for its rovers, the worst pirates of their time. Nor dared we disembark, lest a modern Taurus should have been found amongst

those still uncivilized savages. The fine range of Atlas was seen in the distance, and along the coast several minarets and other buildings of various shapes, together with many well cultivated vallies; the whole forming an exceedingly picturesque scene.*

Sailing round Cape Spartel, we at length entered the Straits of Gibraltar, and were much gratified by the grand scenery on each side, finely terminated by the rock towering in the distance. Owing to the fever which infected several parts of the Spanish coast at this period, we were prevented from landing; and had merely time to contemplate the surrounding objects, all commemorated either in classic lore, or the historic page; the inaccessible rock, its narrow and stupendous fortifications, camp of San Roca, bay of Algeziras, celebrated by the victory of Rodney over the Spanish admiral Langara: the very spot on which we lay is that, where, through the gallantry of General Elliott, the floating batteries were destroyed. Ceuta, and the southern pillar of Hercules, on the opposite shore of Barbary, presented a wide field for admiration and reflection. The commercial activity, and immense diversity of ships bearing the flag of different nations collected in the bay, also afforded a very interesting spectacle.

A seaman is truly what the French style *l'homme par excellence*. The world is his country, and human nature his family. Welcomed by all as the harbinger of abundance, convenience, and luxury, he is destined to combat every element, and surmount all difficulties. With a natural greatness of soul, and elevation of spirit, his views are generally extensive, and character upright. Proud as the element he in-

* For a curious and highly interesting account of Morocco, see KEATINGE'S TRAVELS: where, amongst more important matter, a very good description of the part seen by the author is given. In speaking of the road between Sallee and Tangier, the Colonel observes: "For several miles this route continues along the river's side, (the Cebu,) which is deep, of slow descent, and meandering picturesquely in the boldest and most comprehensive sweeps that can be seen or imagined, through rich flats, and meadows of a depth of verdure in the tint, of which nothing to be seen elsewhere could give an idea, until its reaches ultimately flatten to the eye, to be lost in the indistinctness of the horizon."—Vol. II. p. 40. —*Ed.*

habits, and free as that breeze which wafts him along; his principles of action are alike fitted to every situation. Born to live with his fellows, the sea-faring man is the real friend of society, of humanity, and civilization. The diffuser of knowledge, and common benefactor of mankind, he only is entitled to the epithet of cosmopolite. The most splendid ornament and steady support of a free people, he is the truest source of national prosperity: so that the solitary verse of a French poet should not be forgotten:

Le trident de Neptune est le sceptre du monde;*

at a time too when its truth has been so fully exemplified by a nation of our own days.

Situated as we were, common prudence would have dictated the necessity of remaining a few days at Gibraltar, and joining the first convoy that sailed up the Mediterranean, of which at this time there was one nearly every week. And by the way of adding to our comfort, it was strongly reported that the Algerine squadron was at sea, committing its depredations in various quarters. The poor seamen, who either from personal experience, or public notoriety, knew the horrors which must inevitably attend falling into the hands of the barbarians, began to murmur, and at length broke out into open violence, positively declaring they would no longer navigate the vessel, if the master refused to accede to their just demand of waiting for the protection of the first convoy. But our ill-judged conductor would have probably suffered himself to be cut to pieces, rather than incur a farthing expence by any longer delay here. Assuming a high tone, therefore, he loudly accused his men of a disposition to mutiny, and after volumes of abuse, roundly swore, that if they did not immediately return to a sense of duty and subordination, they should, on their arrival at Sicily, be put into dungeons "where day-light never entered," and out of

* The above is from the pen of Le Mierre, who was so vain of it, that he considered it superior to any single line of Racine or J. B. Rousseau. This presumption gave rise to the following opinion:—*Oui, c'est un beau vers, mais c'est un vers solitaire!*

which it was for them to escape as well as they could! Continuing to dwell upon this strain with peculiar emphasis, he proceeded to read a lesson upon arbitrary power, stating, amongst other fine maxims, that a captain was king on board his own ship, and his will the law!* I now thought it was high time to make some reply to this self-created and bombastic sovereign, particularly as I felt but too much interest in the reasoning of his men, and recollecting what Seneca had on a former occasion said to Nero, told him, in somewhat of a peremptory tone to remember, *his power was at an end where justice terminated;* that having violated his written agreement to sail with convoy, it would be seen, if ever we reached Sicily, who was most entitled to a place in the dungeons to which he so confidently alluded. Had this harangue been properly supported by my fellow passengers, the *hero* would most likely have lowered his pretensions; but though very amiable personages, they were unfortunately deficient on this occasion, and apprehensive lest the dispute should take a more serious turn, were, during its continuance, occupied in restraining me by repeating the old worn-out arguments of "where's the necessity for entering into the crowd to be trampled upon?" "Command who can, obey who ought!" "The ass must follow his master;" "One fool is enough to command in the same house!" and similar consolatory phrases, all calculated to precipitate the fate which awaited us. Nor was it the first time I had reason to believe, that in all the great concerns of life, judgment and talent are less frequently wanted, than disposition and character. It is, perhaps, equally true, that more mischief arises from indecision and want of confidence, than the opposite extremes of temerity and presumption. In the present instance, my incredulous companions seemed to lose their usual habits of reflection. Viewing the captain's proceedings

* This is by no means a new doctrine, for until very lately it was not only preached but practiced in the ships of another country: but it is only justice to add, that owing to a number of highly useful regulations and restrictions, adopted within the last few years, it is now pretty well exploded. As to the improvements alluded to, it is sincerely to be hoped, they are only preludes to others of still greater importance and utility.—*Ed.*

as being founded on his boasted experience, they determined patiently to await the result of his arrangements; and, as if destiny had interfered, appeared to feel as much indifference as if we were merely going to a ball or a wedding. Their fancied security, in so uncertain a position, reminded me of a story which is told of a poor man, who, during an inundation of the Arno at Pisa, was carried away by the torrent while attempting to lay hold of a large beam he saw floating down. In this extremity, when there seemed to be no chance of his gaining land, and a large concourse of people had already collected on the banks, exclaiming, "poor man! there is no chance of safety; you will surely become food for the fishes." "Oh dear!" says another; "what will become of his unfortunate wife and children?" When the lamentations had subsided a little, the object of them, still clinging to the beam, looked up, and very deliberately said, "for my part, ladies and gentlemen, I hope for the best!"

Madame du Deffand once observed that she only knew three sorts of people, *des trompeurs, des trompés, et des trompettes.* No sooner had that of our redoubtable Astalfo been sounded by my friends, than his crest became immediately elevated, and without farther ceremony he weighed anchor and stood out of Gibraltar, with the illusory promise, however, of touching at Minorca, for the purpose of accompanying the first English ship of war, that left that island for Sicily. In the course of our navigation along the Spanish coast, I frequently took occasion to remind him of his promise, and even strongly suggested the prudence of such a measure; forgetting with Machiavel, that fools never take advice, or the still more apposite injunction of another writer, not to give your counsel to those who appear most in want of it. So far, therefore, from his shewing any disposition to gratify us in this particular, he evidently adopted a course which must inevitably take us many leagues nearer the coast of Barbary.

One of the few pleasures attendant on a sea voyage, is that of occasionally enjoying the comfort of a good dinner, and more enlivening glass of wine; but with our bounteous caterer even that

consolation was denied. A preacher, who had not received one invitation to dine out, during a whole Lent, declared, in his last sermon, that he had preached against every sin except gluttony; and that was a vice which he was glad to see did not seem to predominate in the neighbourhood!

For the information of those who may at any future period, undertake a voyage by water, it may not be altogether useless to give a short specimen of our fare on board the Hero. It consisted of a little musty rice plentifully mingled with stones, and evidently the sweepings of some store-room; salt meat, not unlike half tanned leather, and which, from the difficulty of extricating it out of the teeth, created a constant tooth-ache. As to wine, it was fairly out of the question; nor did the provident steward even lay in a small stock of beer, so cheap an article in the country we had left. Our usual beverage, therefore, was made up of putrid water, which it was attempted to render palatable by a dash of vinegar. If the occasional intermission of sea-sickness created a little appetite, this chalice of bitterness soon destroyed it; and by a refinement in his mode of tormenting the poor passenger, whenever the hour of refreshment arrived, I perceived that the vessel was then placed in the most uneasy position the master could contrive; for to him nothing was so mortifying as seeing any of his unfortunate victims enjoy their dinner.

We had but too frequently reason, in this hungry state, of calling to mind the ill-fated story of Ugolino; nor was our ship inaptly compared to the tower in which he perished.* Judging from the meagre

* This allusion will doubtless remind the Italian reader of that wonderfully sublime passage of the Inferno, in which the famished Count relates the harrowing narrative of his confinement in the *Torre della Fame*.

Quel dì, e l'altro stemmo tutti muti:
Ahi dura terra, perchè non t'apristi?
Posciachè fummo al quarto dì venuti,
Gaddo mi si gitto distesò a' piedì,
Dicendo: Padre mio, che non m'ajuti! V. Cant. xxxiii.

The following

and wretched appearance of myself and companions, it was, I think, well said by the Prince of Orange, "that in a three days regimen he would make a poltroon of the bravest man in his army."

As to these little digressions, not immediately connected with the main object of publishing, it is hoped they will be excused, on the score of their melancholy importance to the writer. Enough will follow to excite feelings of a very different nature; but as a French traveller says, *dans un bâtiment quoi faire à moins qu'on ne conte?* and I am not the first scribbler, who, for the purpose of giving more unity to his narrative, has led his reader gradually on to the catastrophe. When, at Scarron's *petits soupers*, the second course was not ready, the cook used to whisper in the ear of Madame S. afterwards the celebrated Maintenon, so famous for anecdotes and *bons mots*, "have the goodness to amuse the company with a story, as the roast meat is not quite done."

For several days after leaving the coast of Catalonia, we had an ample opportunity of witnessing the sad effects of war, and those anti-social decrees of the belligerents, which seemed to extinguish all the commercial intercourse of nations. In a run of four or five hundred miles, we only encountered two vessels. One having a suspicious appearance, our captain prudently kept aloof; for he too, was amongst the number of those, who thought with Falstaff, that prudence is the better part of valour; with the other we came into more immediate contact: she proved to be an unarmed Neapolitan, and no sooner was this circumstance ascertained, than our bombastic skipper deter-

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The following attempt at translation, will give some idea of its divine original:

'Unwilling thus to aggravate their woes,
Gloomy and calm, attendant on the close
Of all our pangs, I sate, revolving slow;
Two days succeed—the fourth pale morning broke,
"O Father, help! I feel the deadly stroke!"
My Gaddo cry'd, and sunk beneath the blow!—*Boyd.*

Ed.

mined to assert his superiority by displaying the Sicilian flag, and firing a shot at the stranger, to bring her to. Although this effort of bravery had the desired effect, the Neapolitan, who was no admirer of practical jokes, on coming within hail, remonstrated in not very classical terms against the unprovoked aggression of our doughty chieftain. There being a strong natural jealousy existing between the people of Sicily and Naples, the present *rencontre* was followed by volumes of ribaldry and abuse on each side, which, when both parties were completely exhausted, and not till then, terminated to the great joy of the lookers on.

On making the island of Sardinia, a much more unpleasant spectacle presented itself: this was the appearance of several strange sails, close under the land, whose continued manœuvring created an immediate suspicion on the part of the crew, that they were corsairs. This the captain pertinaciously denied, asserting them to be no other than an English convoy, and even proposed to bear up and join them, which gave rise to a sumultanous burst of disapprobation from all on board, followed by a long altercation; in which we resolutely declared, that having escaped thus far, we had no idea of voluntarily going into the lion's mouth, and therefore insisted on the vessel's being instantly steered towards the island of San Pietro, where there was an excellent harbour to receive us. To this universal cry of putting into port, the Hero reluctantly yielded.

Ma cadendo quell' anima superba,
Fe' una bocca di biascia sorba acerba;
Ed era sconcertato a si gran segno
Che pareva un Ebreo che ha perso il pegno.

We soon after had the pleasure of anchoring, and congratulated each other with the ardour of those, who feel they have just escaped an imminent danger.

In consequence of the plague still raging at Malta, and the measures of precaution it imposed on the neighbouring coasts, we were

not permitted to land at the town; but a space was allotted, where we had an opportunity of stretching our limbs: and this, to persons in our situation, worn out with a tedious voyage, sea-sickness, and bad living, was no trifling luxury. It is for those whose destiny has for many years separated them from their native soil, to judge what my feelings were on touching the first shore of Italy! Not with more anxious solicitude could the lover rush into the arms of his mistress, or Cæsar gain the opposite bank of the Rubicon, than myself and fellow sufferers sprang on the beach at our first landing. Tears of joy moistened the cheeks of several, at the rapturous thought of once more inhaling the salubrious and vivifying air of our native climate. None but persons who had been placed in a similar situation, can possibly conceive the pleasure we experienced, on pressing the earth, and bounding along the shore, after having so largely tasted all the bitter ingredients of a sea voyage, and its innumerable unpleasantries to a landsman. Nor is the moment of landing, when sea-sickness seems banished as it were, by enchantment, the least agreeable of a traveller's emancipation. The refreshments, consisting of poultry, vegetables, and exquisite grapes, soon had the effect of restoring us to that love of life which the captain had well nigh succeeded in extinguishing; and San Pietro was, to us, a real land of promise.

During our promenade along a fine sandy beach, we were frequently visited by the natives of distinction, who paid us every attention in their power; and even the fairer sex did not fail to come and sympathize with the weary travellers. There seems to be a natural tendency in the human mind, to become acquainted with the man, *qui mores hominum multorum videt et urbes;* and we find a secret pleasure in listening to the marvellous stories of the pilgrim. For our parts, we all blessed the haven of safety, comfort, and relaxation:

——————— E intanto oblia
La noia e il mal della passata via.

San Pietro, though small and not very productive, carries on a considerable trade with the Balearic islands, and Cagliari. There is very little grain cultivated there: so that it consists principally of vineyards, which produce tolerably good wine; and the higher grounds are well stocked with game. Its tunny fishery is one of the most celebrated in all the Mediterranean. The inhabitants possess a high character, for honest simplicity, industry, and civility towards strangers. Being in great harmony with each other, they would enjoy all the blessings of such attributes, were it not for the continued incursions of the Barbary corsairs. The Tunisians landed here about forty years ago, and desolated the island from one end to the other, taking off nearly all the defenceless inhabitants. A similar visit was paid, not more than seven years ago, by the assassins of Algiers, who have also very lately committed another most daring outrage on the same unfortunate people. In a state of incessant alarm, with their past sufferings constantly before them, they were described to us in all the unadorned and simple colouring of nature: nor did this take away from the horrors which had befallen many of them. These stories generally ended by kindly warning us of the dangers which might attend leaving the port without convoy.

We were farther informed that the squadrons of Algiers and Tripoli were cruizing in the vicinity; the boats of the former had even landed some evenings before, taking off a large quantity of cattle and a boy. They also related the melancholy story of the Chevalier Seratti,* who had lately fallen into the hands of the Tunisians, and since became a victim of their ferocity.

Under such menacing appearances, we were entreated upon no

* The Chevalier was formerly prime minister in Tuscany, and a Sicilian counsellor of state, possessing a high character for intelligence, zeal and probity. One of his first measures, when appointed some years ago governor of Leghorn, was to intercede with the Grand Duke, and obtaining the liberation of all the Tunisian slaves brought into that port. Who could have then foreseen, that in his latter years, he would himself be conducted a slave to Tunis, and finally perish there!

account to venture out till things looked better; and did not fail to impress the necessity of following this friendly advice on the mind of our obstinate captain: who, without absolutely denying its justice, or communicating his real intentions, suffered us to retire to rest, in the flattering belief that we should not only have an opportunity of revisiting our new friends next day, but of remaining in port till a better time of sailing arrived.

CHAPTER II.

Imprudent Departure from SAN PIETRO.—*Presentiments.—Appearance of the Algerine Squadron.—Capture by the Pirates.—Captive taken before the Admiral.—First Night on board the Corsair.—Second Day.—Storm.—Naval Engagement.—Union of the Captives.—Treatment on board the Corsairs of Barbary.—Situation improved.—Hope.—The* RAIS HAMIDA.—*Coast of* ITALY.—*Council of War.—War between* TUNIS *and* ALGIERS.—*Historical Notice of Tunis.—The Revolution.—The Squadron appears before* TUNIS, *and retires.—Coasting, and Arrival at* BONA.

NATURE was still enveloped in her starry mantle; and the goddess of night in her ebon car, silently wandered through the heavens, when confused noises, as if created by a general movement on board the vessel, suddenly awoke the sleeping passengers, who, upon ascending the deck, beheld, with a mingled feeling of sorrow and indignation, that the anchor was up, and sails spread for the purpose of once more incurring the many dangers, which had been so emphatically described by the faithful islanders, whose friendly admonitions were completely thrown away on our besotted and ignorant conductor. While steering out of the bay, the boat returned on board, when the person who had been despatched in her, to execute some little commission for the captain, told us, with fear and trembling, notwithstanding his being cautioned to the contrary, that the report of cannon was heard; supposed to be signals of alarm, from San Pietro and the Peninsula of Antioch, a place to the northward.

In this fearful extremity, we naturally supplicated the master to return into port, pointing out the imminent peril which attended

going to sea under such circumstances. But he was deaf to every entreaty, and even assumed a most insolent tone, when reminded of his solemn engagement to sail with convoy; finally observing, that he had originally sailed for Sicily, and to Sicily he would go!

Would to Heaven that our just indignation had prompted us to adopt a more determined course with regard to this wretch, on so emergent an occasion; or that some resolute mind, like Rousseau's Emilius in a like dilemma, had avenged his companions in misfortune, by liberating the earth from such a traitor, and the sea of such a monster.

After having nearly terminated the voyage, and arrived within a few days sail of the much desired port, to have thus been mercilessly exposed to so great a calamity was most distressing; surely our past sufferings merited a better fate! The poor seamen were full of anxious hope, at the idea of revisiting their wives and families: nearly all of them had brought little ventures, the result of their hard-earned wages, and chief source of consolation on returning homewards; while the day of their arrival was fondly anticipated to be one of rejoicing and hilarity. It was impossible to have found better disposed characters than these unfortunate victims of rashness and imbecility.

The passengers too, of whom I have hitherto been silent, were all persons of the highest merit. The Chevalier Rossi, possessing a most honourable mind, and liberal sentiments, was returning from England with all the information which that enlightened country affords to foreign visitors, accompanied by his wife, an amiable and accomplished woman, together with two lovely children, the offspring of their union. An industrious and honest merchant, Mr. Terreni of Leghorn, was taking out merchandize of great value, the result of his judicious speculations in Great Britain; Antonio Terreni, his brother, an artist of great merit; who was going to Sicily for the purpose of making a picturesque tour through the island, as he had already done, with so much *eclât* in Tuscany; a Calabrese, who had served for many years in the British navy, and was returning home to enjoy

the fruits of his exertions while absent; also, a beautiful woman going to join her husband, who was on his return from the East Indies. After a variety of strange vicissitudes, destiny was about to unite them, and realize the story of Ulysses and Penelope, who, sustained by the force of love, were, on their meeting, still more enchanted by a recapitulation of their mutual adventures.

The last personage in this catalogue, though not the least interesting, was a charming girl, whose singular story requires particular attention. Enamoured with a young Sicilian, her affections were returned by a corresponding attachment on his part. As, however, fate will generally have it, her fortune was unequal to the extravagant pretensions of the young man's father. Her treasures were those of the mind and person; and in both these she was by no means deficient. But it has often been proved, that nothing is more difficult than severing the ties formed by real love. In the present case it had the effect of giving our heroine strength and resolution to visit England, in search of two old and rich relatives, from whom she hoped to obtain the object of her wishes. On presenting herself before them, her personal charms, aided by the irresistible eloquence of love, produced the desired effect; and receiving a liberal dowry, she hastened back, with the delightful hope of throwing it together with her own fond heart at the feet of her lover.

The dullness and monotony of our voyage was frequently enlivened by the repetition of her story, which she felt a virtuous pleasure in relating; and by way of playful irony she obtained the name of *L'avara per amore;* the miser for love. In our present advanced state, the poor girl anxiously counted every hour, and even minute, which separated her from the man of her choice; and would often fancy she beheld him on the shore, with extended arms, to receive all that was dear to him in this world! He did so, no doubt, with the trembling anxiety of Paul, when awaiting the long expected return of his beloved Virginia; but, alas! he was never to behold her more: and, unlike her prototype, who perished in the waves, she was des-

tined to fall a sacrifice to barbarians; and like the beautiful Angelica of Ariosto, it might well be exclaimed:

Oh troppo eccelsa preda
Per si barbare genti e si villane!

We continued our course, thoughtful and pensive: with every eye mournfully directed towards the water, a dead silence pervaded the passengers and crew. It is the nature of deep sorrow to be mute; and this was merely a sad presentiment of what was shortly after to follow. Had the tattered state of the vessel, and her heavy sailing been considered, the imprudence of thus going into the very face of such enemies was self-evident.

While in this state of painful suspense, a sudden squall from off the land, carried away our main-top-mast, which, in its fall, nearly overwhelmed the captain. Once, while M. de Calonne was reclining on his luxurious feathers, the top of his bed fell in, and would have, most probably, suffocated the ex-minister, had not prompt assistance been given. A gentleman who saw him in this state, immediately exclaimed, "just heaven!"* Without exactly wishing to see our commander expiate his obstinacy and folly, by falling under the mast, I could not, at the time, help considering its vicinity to his skull, as a species of providential warning for him to return into port, or make for Cagliari, which was not very distant. But it had no such effect: the atmosphere became every moment more obscure, a roaring noise of the waves was heard in the distance, and deep peals of thunder began to issue from the clouds which were collecting all round: these, together with a strong wind and high sea, ushered in the first night after our quitting San Pietro.

O Navis! referent in mare te novi
Fluctus? O! quid agis? Fortiter occupa
Portum. Nonne vides, ut
Nudum remigio latus,

* This anecdote loses all its point by translation, and requires to be explained. The tester of a bed is called *ciel* (heaven) in French, and *cielo* in Italian: so that the pun alluded to, turned upon the minister's friend exclaiming *juste ciel!*---*Ed.*

Et malus celeri saucius Africo
Antennæque gemunt; ac sine funibus
Vix durare carinæ
Possint imperiosius
Æquor ?* CAR. XIV.

It was in vain to expect any repose, in this state of fearful apprehension; and no sooner had the weariness, occasioned by several hours rocking about in my wretched cell, produced a disposition to sleep, than the Chevalier Rossi came with a tremulous voice, to inform me, that the very same vessels, seen previous to our entering San Pietro, were just discovered! Hurrying out of bed, I sprang on deck, where all was anguish and confusion. Having hastily interrogated the pilot and seamen, their answers consisted of broken sentences and significant inclinations of the head. The strange sails, six in number, were almost at this time imperceptible specks in the horizon; but from the ideas naturally associated with their sudden appearance, the panic was dreadful, what with reality, and the force of imagination. Stimulated by our fears, their size gradually increased, and from the disastrous result, might justly be compared to those phenomena of the ocean, so much dreaded by mariners, which, from the most inconsiderable spot in the atmosphere advance by slow degrees, until bursting on their heads, they are instantly buried in the waves.

Scarcely had the first emotions of alarm been developed, when a particular manœuvre of the strangers, clearly manifested their hostile intentions: this, on being perceived, was followed by a burst of

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* Unhappy vessel! Shall the waves again
Tumultuous bear thee to the faithless main?
What would thy madness, thus with storms to sport?
Cast from your anchor in the friendly port.
Behold thy naked decks; the wounded mast
And sail-yards groan beneath the southern blast,
Nor without ropes thy keel can longer brave,
The rushing fury of th' imperious wave. *Francis.*

horror, from all on board; and in the general alarm, the seaman's efforts to make sail, and conduct us into safety, seemed only to increase the confusion, being calculated rather to precipitate the fatal event than otherwise. Agitation is not activity, and naval or military operations, without a design, are more likely to disconcert, than forward objects. By a dreadful fatality, the wind, which had until now blown with great violence, suddenly ceased; so that we found ourselves, in a moment, totally incapable of changing the vessel's position. As to the captain, he was dumb with amazement; and, notwithstanding his former boasting, remained completely inactive, having lost all power of exertion: and in those situations to be idle, or uncollected, is to give up every hope of escape. A light breeze having sprung up, we suggested the idea of making sail towards the land, and after all, we had the alternative of taking to the long boat: the proposition was hardly made, when the master pointed towards one of the enemy's vessels to leeward, which cut off our retreat in that direction. Ignorant of the degree of credit to which his reasoning was entitled, he made no efforts, either for defence or escape.

The enemy, when first seen, were at least fifteen miles off; while the coast of Sardinia was not more than a third of that distance. Even the barbarians after our capture, said that we had a bad Rais; as, if we had made the slightest movement towards reaching the shore, they would not have attempted to follow us; but seeing our total inactivity, and a seeming disposition to approach, rather than get away, they thought us enchanted, and according to their own emphatical expression, dragged along by the dark spirit of our inevitable ruin.

All was terror and dismay on board the Sicilian. I know not what chilling hand oppresses the Christian heart, on the appearance of Barbary corsairs: like the head of Medusa, it seemed to petrify every person on board. It was now, that as in all great disasters, instead of mutual support and encouragement, a sentiment of hatred is instantly generated; the fire of discord bursts forth amongst the

companions of misfortune, and intestine war is kindled on public desolation.

One of our men, who had been in slavery at Sallee, and who preserved the sad remembrance, inspired by a feeling of desperation, rushed up to the captain, and would have certainly plunged a stiletto in his heart, had not myself and the other passengers promptly interfered. Another, still more infuriated, seized a fire-brand, and was, by absolute force, prevented from applying it to the powder magazine; some were for destroying themselves on board; others proposed jumping into the sea, and thus defeating the triumph of their enemies. This state of suffering and despair having subsided, it was shortly succeeded by a deep and mournful silence; after which, the sailors were observed to descend, one by one, into the hold, there to await the event. As to us passengers, we remained on deck, deeply meditating on, and watching our approaching ruin. The master, who had never been in the habit of standing at the helm, now took possession of it; and, profiting by the light air that blew, gradually turned the vessel's head towards the pirates, so that we advanced to them, instead of waiting their arrival.

Several hours passed in this cruel and trembling perplexity; it was like sipping the poisoned draught. On the barbarians getting near us, we could easily distinguish their horrid yells; and innumerable turbans soon appeared along their decks. It was now that the last ray of hope abandoned the least terrified amongst us; and, as if electrified by the same shock, we fled from the horrid spectacle, each hiding himself in the best way he could below, there patiently to wait the grand catastrophe which threatened us.

When every exertion, whether of the mind or body, becomes no longer availing, the human heart falls into a species of stupor and frigid tranquillity, which may truly be called the last stage of suffering. It was thus, that a Canadian savage, while sitting in his canoe above the great fall of Niagara, had the rope which fastened her to the shore, cut by one of his enemies, and was fast driving towards

the tremendous cataract. In this extremity, he made every exertion, that force, courage, and resolution could suggest, to avoid the threatened danger; but, perceiving from the rapidity of the stream, that there was no chance of escape, he tranquilly laid his paddle aside, and, stretching himself along the bottom of the canoe, with his head covered—was dashed down the foaming abyss!

But now the terrible moment has at length arrived, and with it, the greatest misfortune which can possibly befall a human being. The shout of the barbarians are heard close to us. They appear on deck in swarms, with haggard looks, and naked scimetars, prepared for boarding; this is preceded by a gun, the sound of which was like the harbinger of death to the trembling captives, all of whom expected to be instantly sunk; it was the signal for a good prize: a second gun announced the capture, and immediately after they sprang on board, in great numbers. Their first movements were confined to a menacing display of their bright sabres and attaghans; with an order for us, to make no resistance, and surrender; which it was hardly necessary to repeat, we had only to obey; and this ceremony being ended, our new visitors assumed a less austere tone, crying out in their *Lingua Franca*, *No pauro! No pauro!* "Don't be afraid." After this rum was called for, then the keys of our trunks; when, dividing our party into two divisions, one was ordered into the pirates' boat, and conveyed to the admiral's frigate, while the other remained behind under the care of several Moors, who had taken charge of the vessel. I was amongst the number of those transferred, and in putting off from the brig, joined my companions in a speechless adieu of those we left behind.

Cruel fatality! The boat had scarcely put off, and began to row towards the Algerine, when the breeze, which we had for so many hours vainly prayed for, and even one hour before might have seen us in safety, suddenly sprang up, accompanied with dark clouds, which was soon followed by torrents of rain. The Moors, only intent on securing their victims, cheerfully howled to the blast, while we remained absorbed in gloomy silence.

On gaining the frigate we had no sooner got upon deck, than the barbarians uttered a general cry of victory, usual when any captures are made. A savage joy seemed to play on their cadaverous aspects. A passage being opened for us between the armed Turks and Moorish sailors, we were conducted into the presence of the grand *Rais,* supreme commander of the Algerine squadron. He was seated between the captains of the five other frigates, who had assembled in close council to deliberate on the measures necessary to be taken with us, to combine future operations, and finally to exult in their horrible celebrity. We were interrogated in brief and haughty terms, but neither insult nor rudeness was offered to any of the party. The grand *Rais* very *civilly* asked us for our money, watches, rings, and every other article of value we had about our persons; in order, as he obligingly observed, to save them from the rapacity of the people of the Black Sea, who formed a considerable part of his crew; and whom he candidly said were all *ladri.* He then deposited our respective property in a small box, faithfully assuring us that all should be returned on our leaving the vessel. During the distribution in the box he repeated, alternately looking at the captives, "*questo per ti,*" "this is for you;" "*questo altro per ti:*" but perhaps in his heart, "and all this for me!" We were then ordered to retire; and, placed upon a mat in the Rais's outer cabin, began to reflect on our new situation.

When supper was served, it consisted of a black looking paste in an immense pan, which being placed on the deck, was immediately surrounded by a host of hungry Moors and negroes, indiscriminately mixed together, and making common cause for the laudable purpose of emptying the platter: which if ever so well inclined to partake of, was a forlorn hope to us afflicted and over ceremonious visitors; who at this patriarchal repast, might with propriety be compared to the timid spaniel, who vainly attempts to come in for a part of the bone, thrown to the famished mastiff. Soon after sun-set, we were ordered to descend by a species of trap leading into the hold, which had infi-

nitely more the appearance of a sepulchre than a place destined for living beings. There it was necessary to extend our wearied limbs over blocks, cables, and other ship's tackling, which made ours a bed of thorns indeed! In this suffocating state, the bitterest reflections presented themselves to our sleepless imaginations.

After being, as it were, on the eve of touching the paternal shore, what was now to become of us? Born and educated in a civilized country; long accustomed to share the protection of British liberty and law, we were now captives of the vilest slaves, and perhaps doomed to drag out the remainder of our wretched days in dreary captivity amongst inexorable Moors! The poor sailors, too, all fathers of families, who looked to them alone for support and consolation, seemed totally incapable of bearing up against the misery of their situation. It is true, the passengers were enabled, in this trying dilemma, to exercise rather more philosophy and strength of mind; but who could calmly reflect on a situation so new and afflicting? It was impossible to close an eye—

> Tir'd nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep!
> He, like the world, his ready visit pays
> Where fortune smiles; the wretched he forsakes;
> Swift on his downy pinion flies from woe,
> And lights on beds unsully'd with a tear.

What dreadful phantoms hovered o'er our heads in this gloomy receptacle! What hours, good Heaven! are those which follow the first moments of slavery!—

> Que la nuit parait longue à la douleur qui veille!—

Scarcely had the day dawned, when, creeping out of our living sepulchre, we stalked backwards and forwards on the Algerine's deck, ignorant of our future destiny, but endeavouring to form some conjectures from the voice and manner of the barbarians. Nothing positive could, however, be discovered in this way; and we still remained in the worst of all situations, that of doubt and uncertainty.

It has been well observed, that the first shock of misfortune is not that which we feel the most severely; it is the one which follows: as wounds are less painful during the heat of battle, while the blood flows, and the mind is more intensely occupied by the surrounding scene. The immediate effects of any great disaster, are those of creating stupor and insensibility; and it is not until reflection succeeds, that its real magnitude is seen. We are ready, in the first onset of danger, to oppose our utmost strength and resolution to the storm; but when there is no longer any hope of successful resistance, the best impulses of the soul seem to lose their influence.

During our promenade on deck, the Moors gathered round us in great numbers, and with eager curiosity surveyed our appearance. As to ourselves, we had then only cause to be surprised at the unlooked-for situation in which destiny had placed us. A doge of Venice, who, together with four of his senators, was obliged to go to Versailles, and beg pardon of Louis the Fourteenth, for some political offence, being asked what astonished him most at that splendid residence, ingenuously answered, "that of finding myself here!"

Towards noon of the second day, a storm arose, during which we experienced a dreadful succession of thunder and lightning, together with all the usual accompaniments of a tempest at sea: this, under other circumstances, would have had much greater terrors for us; but as the poet of nature observes:

> Where the greater malady is fix'd,
> The lesser is scarce felt;

and we even derived a secret pleasure in witnessing the paralizing effects of the gale on our ignorant masters; who, totally unacquainted with tactics, or the science of navigation, were running wildly about the ship, imploring *Alla* for protection; till at last, unable to manage her any longer, they not only solicited the advice of our seamen, but, finally, gave up the entire direction to them. On seeing this, I cannot describe an irresistible feeling of joy, which seemed to take possession of my mind, arising from a sudden thought which occurred to me, that by

a well combined, and spirited effort of our seamen and passengers, there was a possibility of conducting the ship sufficiently near the Sardinian coast, to see one of its ports; and, in the event of the storm's continuing, carry her directly in, and thus be once more restored to our friends and liberty.

Animated by this illusory prospect of emancipation, and prompted to undertake any thing, rather than patiently endure the apprehensions of future sufferings; I went on deck several times, and endeavoured, by every argument in my power, to induce a compliance with the proposal: stating, in the liveliest colours I could, the advantages which must accrue from the success of such a scheme, and heartfelt gratification of turning our misfortunes into a source of gallantry and enterprize. To all these a variety of objections, suggested by fear or indecision, were made: amongst others, it was asked, how we were to find our way in so dark and tempestuous a night? I readily acknowledged the danger to be considerable, but, on the other hand, wished to know, what perils could be equal to those of passing the rest of our lives in the chains of slavery? And this interrogatory, if put to more resolute characters, might have produced a very different effect. As it was, I drew a melancholy consolation from the thought of having attempted, at least, to inspire my fellow captives with that courage, which could alone afford any chance of our liberation. There being no farther hopes of persuading the seamen, I returned sorrowfully to my cell; and, as it generally happens, the propitious moment once lost, seldom returns, I had not remained long below, when the weather began to moderate:* this was followed by a

* This cheering moment of the seaman's life is finely illustrated by Mr. Moore, in that exquisite poem LALLA ROOKH:—

How calm, how beautiful comes on
The stilly hour when storms are gone:
When warring winds have died away,
And clouds, beneath the glancing ray,
Melt off, and leave the land and sea
Sleeping in bright tranquillity. *Ed.*

serene sky, which seemed to produce an electric effect on the barbarians, who, from a state of the utmost fear and pusillanimity, soon changed their tone, and assumed their usual savage joy and native ferocity. With respect to my own feelings, although the sea was calm, the tempest of the mind still continued unabated.

Another source of horrid pleasure was soon afforded to the crew, by a strange sail's being announced. While scarcely to be distinguished with the aid of a spy-glass, chace was immediately given, and preparations made for battle. As if positive that an engagement would take place, the Mahometans were animated to the approaching combat, by a promise to those who might fall, of all the ineffable delights which the houris of Paradise could bestow. It afterwards turned out, that all this bombast was occasioned by a small Greek ship: reminding me of him who borrowed the club of Hercules to kill a frog! Having soon reached the Greek, she was not found to be so easy a conquest as the Algerines expected; and though with very few guns on board, she made a brave and determined resistance. Finding, however, that there were no means of escape, and in order to diminish their value as a prize, previous to striking her colours, they threw the most valuable part of their cargo overboard. So that when the pirates boarded, with all the avidity of robbers who anticipate a large treasure, they found themselves somewhat in the situation of Gil Blas, when, on emptying the contents of the friar's bag, perceived it contained only some old metals, and a few *agnus Dei!* The poor Greeks, however, paid dearly for their bravery, and were both abused and bastinadoed directly they ascended the sides of the Algerine.

While occupied in the reflections suggested by my new situation, and the ill-fortune which threw the Greeks into such barbarous hands, I could not help thinking, in opposition to some moralists who so warmly advocate the doctrine of a blind fatalism, that there is a particular providence displayed in the history of all men's lives. Be this as it may, we next encountered a Tunisian corvette; and as a fierce war raged between the two states at this time, the meeting

was followed by an obstinate engagement. Being on deck in the early part of it, we recollected that bullets pay no respect to persons: as these soon came in somewhat too close contact with our ears, we were far from being *à notre aise;* and however gratifying it may be to fight for one's religion, country, and king, we could see no pleasure in dying for the Turks. This gave rise to our taking an early opportunity of quitting the field; and like what is related of a Genoese passenger, were satisfied with putting our heads above the hatches when the battle subsided, and asking whether we had taken them, or they us? Several broadsides having been exchanged, the Tunisian was at length forced to surrender. It was then we had occasion to witness the barbarous vengeance of an ungenerous enemy, in the conduct of the Algerines towards their prisoners, who were all put into irons, while their brave commander's head, struck off and placed on a pike, was carried round the ship in triumph; it was afterwards put up in a conspicuous point to be looked at, forming a frightful spectacle to myself and companions. Nothing could exceed the ferocious and turbulent exultation created by this *great* victory. The Rais, big with importance, fancied he had achieved wonders; and a long time was taken up in receiving the felicitations of his officers and crew: we also thought it prudent to follow their example; although, to say the truth, we felt a sentiment of pity for the Tunisians, seeing into what cruel hands they had fallen. Without forgetting the divine precept of rejoicing with the happy, and weeping with the unfortunate,* it was as well to secure a little mildness on the part of our oppressors, by assuming an air of satisfaction which it was impossible in reality to feel. The great have been compared to windmills, which require a breeze before they can be useful.

* After the battle of St. Quentin between Charles the Fifth, and Francis the First, the Venetian senate sent its congratulations to the victors, and condolence to the defeated party. When the ambassadors of the latter power remonstrated on the impropriety of this conduct, the Doge replied, that he only acted in obedience to the sacred injunction. *Gaudete cum gaudentibus, flete cum flentibus!*

Having, soon after the storm began, seen the brig containing the rest of our companions in misfortune, sadly tossed about by the merciless waves, she was in a short time lost sight of; and it was now four days since we last saw her, when she fortunately hove in sight; removing a state of the most painful anxiety for the safety of our friends. When sufficiently close to the frigate they were all transferred to her; so that we had the pleasure of being again united: a circumstance which afforded the greatest satisfaction to all the party. There is a singular pleasure attached to association, whether amidst the ill-fated children of adversity, or in the noisy tumult of battle; for the human mind, when abandoned to itself and solitude, is generally desolate.

Our captain too, against whom there were so many just causes of complaint, excited our commiseration, and all was forgotten. We no longer beheld in him the author, but companion of our misfortunes. Indeed the *ci-devant king* cut a wretched figure, thus fallen from his 'high estate;' and appeared sincerely afflicted with what had happened to us. Perhaps he might have erred from imprudence and temerity, rather than any wish of wilfully exposing us to so great a risk. Be that as it may, the confession of our faults ought to go a great way in expiating them; and no virtue is more acceptable to heaven than repentance. It is finely said in a book of Hindoo morality, that the good man should not only pardon, but even wish well to his enemy; like the sandal tree, which, in its fall, covers the axe with perfume, by which it has been felled. Learn, says the poet Hafiz, from the shells of the sea, to fill the hand uplifted against thee, with pearls. Do you see that tree assaulted by a cloud of stones? What does it shower on those who throw them? Delicious fruits and odoriferous flowers!

"Ah!" exclaimed the poor Boschi, whose life was written by the witty and satirical Landi;* "Ah! *this life* will surely be my

* The Abate Landi, a native of Talla, and vicar of San Giovanni, near Arezzo, was a man of incomparable wit, possessing extraordinary talents in the more facetious walks

death!" An expression which frequently occurred to myself while pent up in the filthy Algerine ship, where every object combined to make us weary of life. In the first place, our crew were composed of almost every race sent forth by the African continent, with the addition of several of the Levantine banditti, who are yearly imported from Smyrna, and other parts of Turkey, for the service of the regencies; and there was as great a diversity of colour, as nations; from the flat-nosed natives of Tombuctoo, to the white and ferocious descendants of the Almohades. By way of rendering the scene still more obnoxious, this motley crew were all either affected with some corroding humour, or swarming with vermin. Constantly expecting that a plague, the natural companion of so much filth, would break out, and doomed to see these stupid fatalists with lighted lamps, and pipes in every part of the vessel; our anxiety between such a consoling choice of evils, is not to be easily described; and made me often wish for the tub of Diogenes. As to the gloomy hole in which we went through the painful ceremony of attempting to sleep, it could only be described in the language, and compared to the Inferno of our immortal poet:

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of poetic composition. Towards the end of his days, however, owing perhaps to their satirical turn, he consigned several valuable productions to the flames; but I believe there are still many remaining at Arezzo, and amongst others some cantos of the *Boscheide*, a strong satire, professing to give the life of Boschi, another ecclesiastic in the neighbourhood. The latter was so deeply affected by its severity, that he conjured the bishop of his diocese to prevail on Landi to withdraw the poem; concluding his application by emphatically saying, that "Landi's *life* would be *his* death." On applying to the satirist for this purpose, his answer to the prelate was, *Nolo mortem peccatoris; convertatur et vivat.* A butcher of Arezzo, who had amassed a large fortune, having built a fine palace near the town, was desirous of an inscription from Landi for his new villa, and received the following, *Ossibus et nervis compegisti me;* and which, not happening to be very profoundly versed in the Latin, he caused to be duly engraved on a large slab of marble, and fixed over the hall door! Upon another occasion, when a question arose as to the propriety of a small corporation continuing its annual offering of a pig to a grandee of the country, Landi, whose opinion was asked, coolly replied, "You may do whatever you please, gentlemen; but the hog will always *belong to him!*"

Oscura, profond'era, e nebulosa
Tanto, che per ficcar lo viso al fondo
I' non vi discernea veruna cosa. INF. C. iv.*

Packed together like herrings, ours was truly the bed of Procrustes. Stretched along the decks in the manner of the Turks, obliged to eat our wretched meal with the lowest part of the crew, and only supplied with wooden spoons, such as used by the Capuchins of Italy, we were invariably under the necessity of waiting till the beautiful mouths of our black and tawny companions were filled. The beverage consisted of putrid water, which was handed round to the *company* in a large earthen pitcher. *Cuscousou* was the unvarying dish; and if we occasionally felt inclined to season it with any thing, it was necessary to have recourse to a miserable steward, named Solyman, who exacted an exorbitant price for the most trifling indulgence; and as the Rais had *generously* taken all our money into his deposit, something like confiding pork to the care of a cat; it was vain to expect any supply from our obdurate keeper. A young officer having applied to his prince for an increase of pay, representing his present means as altogether inadequate to his wants, the latter, attentively surveying his person, observed, that it was not usual for people to look so fat and healthy upon short allowance. "Please your highness," said the officer, "this round face is not mine, but belongs to my hostess, a good soul, who has hitherto been kind enough to give me credit!" Far otherwise with the stingy Solyman, over whose door we might well have inscribed, *Pay to-day, and trust to-morrow!* Our starving situation had some affinity to a poor and secluded sisterhood of Arezzo, to whom the vivacious Landi, already mentioned, presented a cage in which a beautiful canary bird was enclosed, together with a graceful copy of verses, in which the

* Now thro' the void and viewless shadows drear,
Short sighs, thick coming, led the list'ning ear,
Trembling in murmurs low along the gale. *Boyd.*

poet makes the nuns address the bird on the striking analogy of their respective conditions. "Thou, sweet bird, art shut up in your cage; and so are we in our convent. You salute the morning with your mellifluous notes, and our song is heard at every dawn. You frequently chirp at the wires of your little cage, while we often buzz and hum at our grate. But more happy than us, you are always well supplied with a crust and millet; whereas we are seldom at table, and rather live by our sighs." The address concludes thus:

Quanto, o vago augelin, la nostra vita
Della tua si può dir puì sventurata;
A te non s'impedisce che l' uscita,
E noi siam senza uscita e senza entrata!

The affairs of this world are infinitely varied, presenting an endless diversity in their appearance and character: and it is so ordered by a beneficent Providence, that there is scarcely any situation, however unfortunate, which does not admit of some alleviation. This ordinance of the Divinity was not thrown away upon us; and in the midst of our troubles, we had sufficient strength of mind to reflect, that when inquietude and agitation are only calculated to render the intricate web of fate more difficult to be unravelled, prudence suggests the necessity of patiently yielding to its inscrutable decrees. If not happy or resigned, there is at least a possibility of being tranquil in the worst situations. The truth of this assertion has been proved in a variety of instances. A prisoner of distinction, who had been for some time shut up in the Bastille, confessed the days he passed there, were far from being the most unhappy of his life. The great Menzicoff knew how to find consolation, when exiled in the wilds of Siberia; and Cervantes began his inimitable romance in the prisons of Agamanzillas.

Having regained a little of that dignity, of which the first shock of adversity deprived us, we began to feel that degree of pride, and even haughtiness, which self-love generally makes the offspring of

misfortune in well regulated minds.* This sentiment led to a more dispassionate examination of our real condition, in which the good and evil parts of it were duly appreciated. It is true, our diet was not of the finest quality; but hunger, the best of all sauces, made us eat; and though our bed was not of down, yet habit enabled us to sleep. It must be confessed, that the never changing dish of *Cuscousou* was rather irksome. But though in the hands of pirates, we were out of irons; so that upon the whole, our case was not quite so hopeless as we at first imagined. The two lovely children of Madame Rossi, both emblems of innocence, were the natural care of Heaven, and its protection was bounteously extended to us on their account. It was only necessary to send Luigina round amongst the Turks, and she was sure to return with her little apron full of dried figs and other fruits. She was to us poor penitents, what the dove had been to the holy anchorites of Upper Egypt. Such is the effect of innocence, even upon barbarians! †

On a more intimate acquaintance, we discovered some very honourable exceptions to the general character of the Algerines; and amongst others, I shall always recollect with pleasure, Achmet the son of an Arab prince, who really possessed several very excellent qualities. This young man acted as secretary to the Rais, and having visited most of the European ports, spoke French and Italian fluently. It is also but just to mention, the aga of the Turkish militia; and it would be deviating from the strict impartiality of my views, were I not to declare that there was no personal insult offered to our party, while on board the frigate: and above all, it was most gratifying to observe, that the females were treated with the utmost deference. To

* It was said of a lady that she had too much pride: she replied, "I am haughty, but not proud." "What difference do you make then, between haughtiness and pride?" "Why, that pride is *offensive*, and haughtiness merely *defensive*."

† Madame de Genlis observes, that if you ask the greatest criminals, whether they were ever fond of children, they will reply in the negative.

be sure, they were sometimes obliged to reply to the flattering compliments and gallant questions of the Turks. During their conversation the Muselmen often reminded me of Capuchin noviciates. The Rais too began to invite us occasionally into his cabin, where an Arab tale was recited, and what was still better, a cup of good Yemen coffee handed round, followed by a small glass of rum, that is to say, of our own, which had been taken out of the brig. Those are not the worst species of robbers, who take with one hand, and return a little of the stolen property with the other.

But who could have supposed, that on board an Algerine corsair, amidst uncultivated Africans, we had our *conversazioni*, academies, and *routs*, and almost a musical opera? We regularly assembled to hear their harsh ditties, and witness the awkward dances of the Moors and negroes; and when asked to sing in our turn, were determined not to be outdone in politeness. *Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.* We, in fact, thought ourselves so many Orpheus's on board the ships of the Argonauts; while the black listeners appeared softened by the tender melody of our Italian music: like the assassin, by the dulcet sounds of Stradella;* or Thalaba, at the aerial tones of Caradoc's harp. We saw, that even amidst barbarians, the best way of gaining the affections and esteem of society, is to mingle in its rational amusements. Like the rest of the world, they estimated our merits in proportion as we could enjoy ourselves; and, to be thought clever, it was only necessary to be affable.

It has been observed, that nature produces the blossom before she

* The celebrated Stradella, one of the finest musicians of his day, having eloped with a beautiful woman whom he afterwards married, excited the resentment of her parents to such a degree, that they hired two assassins for the purpose of dispatching him: these, determined to execute their design, placed themselves at a church door in which the musician was presiding at an oratorio, and were so affected by his exquisite strains, that when the moment of putting their murderous plan into effect arrived, they fell at his feet, and with tears confessed the horrible scheme in which his relations had engaged them.

gives the fruit. A young man once presented a memorial to a minister, soliciting a trifling situation in the customs; the answer consisted of those common-place assurances of office which generally end in smoke: previous, however, to his going away, the supplicant took the liberty of telling the great man, that he had also rendered his petition into verse; the minister, who had dined *à la rose*, and taken his wine, replied smilingly, that he was curious to see how a petition for a place in the custom-house could be expressed in poetry. The verses were then recited, upon which the minister, who was a *connoisseur*, and had himself written a few sonnets to the eye-brows, could not help acknowledging, that they possessed ease and facility. "Seeing that your excellency has so much condescension," rejoined the young aspirant, "permit me to inform you, that I have also set the verses to music." "Indeed!" said the minister: "that must really be a new coinage." Having gratified his excellency in this particular, he next proceeded to inform him, that he had composed a *ballet*, which he followed up by a *pas seul*. This was the *ne plus ultra* of perfection, and led to the petitioner's immediate appointment, not to a place in the customs, but to be one of the minister's secretaries; where he soon became a dog in office: proving, that talents of the heel are sometimes preferred to those of the head, in the choice of public characters.*

Notwithstanding the consoling result of our more philosophical reflections, our uncertainty with regard to the future, could not fail to be an occasional source of uneasiness. Without putting us in irons, or making us work, we could not forget that they were in full pos-

* I have never heard of any very particular instance of a talent for dancing having been instrumental in raising any one from obscurity into official importance. Not so with singing, which is said to have placed many a man in the sun-shine of court favor, sometimes elevating them from the humble office of scribe to the dignity of a foreign embassy. I have also heard that the *corps diplomatique* in a certain court of Italy, I will not say of what country, is chiefly occupied in strumming on the guitar, taking lessons in singing, and learning to perform the dignified offices of *cicisbeoism!—Ed.*

session of our persons, unlimitedly exercising *la loi du plus fort* on all our effects. In this state of doubtful ambiguity, our situation was not unlike the countryman of the fable, whose ass was magically taken away, leaving him on the saddle to reflect on his new position. In adversity, however, it is infinitely better to draw a favourable inference from the future, than harass the mind with phantoms of imaginary evils. The art of ingeniously tormenting ourselves by the anticipation of ills which may never arrive, is not amongst the least of human weaknesses. Nothing can be more true than that the greatest sorrows lose much of their intensity by contact; and that while the mind is occupied in conjuring up ideal misery, it feels all the severity of real misfortune which may never occur. By a parity of reasoning, people with this melancholy turn, are at once guilty of ingratitude to heaven for its protecting vigilance, and of injustice towards themselves, in not duly estimating their real share of happiness.

Upon the whole, after some days our prospects assumed rather a brighter aspect, and we began to consider our case as one of those episodes, to which, in some shape or another, most travellers are occasionally subject; and that, however unpleasant for the time, the recapitulation of our present adventures would be a source of amusement in a future day. "Knight errants," says Sancha Panza, "are always prepared either to become emperors, or receive a good drubbing!" We, too, began to imbibe a little of that stoical philosophy, which supported the knight of La Mancha; fondly anticipating that on our arrival at Algiers, we should quietly be suffered to range about in perfect liberty. Even the novelty of seeing a country, so new and strange to us, was not unaccompanied with a feeling of pleasure. As but too generally happens, when castle building commences, the airy architect seldom knows when to stop: so it was with us. The merchant Terreni's imagination had already presented a hundred profitable speculations. He was determined to buy a large assort-

ment of carpets, and other valuable commodities; the painter proposed to delineate the interior of the Dey's palace; while our ladies fancied themselves embellished with the finest shawls of Barbary, and perfumed by its otto of roses. How delightful this tendency in our nature to soften the rigours of adversity, by illusory dreams of future felicity! "To whom has it not occurred," says Madame de Stael, "that while oppressed with the deepest afflictions, a sweet impulse arises in the soul, whispering a speedy termination to its woes: like the celestial sounds which charmed the pious wanderers of the Thebaid, announcing that the salutary stream was about to issue from the rock?" The eloquent Chateaubriand observes, that "hope banished from the habitations of the rich, has taken up its abode in the midst of the unhappy: watching over man, like a tender mother at the bed of her sickly offspring; she rocks him in her arms, nourishing him with a balm for all his sorrows; her vigils are kept over his solitary pillow, while her magic song lulls him to repose!" "You," said a lady to the friend of her early life, "were, in those fortunate days of joy and happiness, beautiful as hope!" It is hope that gives wings to love, and plucks the thorn from despair. It is, in fact, pleasure in flower and in leaf!

The Rais into whose hands we had the honour of falling, was named Hamida, and though possessing a swarthy complexion, and rather fierce physiognomy, his manners were by no means repulsive. Notwithstanding the almost invariable rule at Algiers, of conferring all important commands on the Janizaries, this man had advanced to the rank of grand admiral, although a Moor, and even one of the ignoble race of the Cubail. His chief claims to power, were derived from merit and reputation, titles which preserved him in office, in defiance of a large Turkish cabal, which tried every means to supplant him. Hamida was really endowed with talents and courage; he was above all, extremely fertile in expedients, being indebted to his most brilliant successes for his ability in this way. Having when young, served with the Portuguese, he was now considered as the

best naval officer in the Regency. While only in the command of a small shabeque, he evinced many proofs of ability, and made several valuable prizes; extending his cruizes as far as Madeira, and the banks of Newfoundland, where he was also very successful against the Americans. But the grand enterprize, which acquired him so much popularity, placing his name on a level with those of Sinan and Dragut, was his capture of a large Portuguese frigate, the very ship in which, as grand admiral, he was destined to make slaves of myself and companions. For this singular instance of good fortune, he was, however, indebted to a *ruse de guerre*, aided by the inadvertency of the Portuguese captain, who having communicated with an English frigate, and lost sight of her, shortly after saw another, which from the weather's being rather foggy, he took to be the same ship, and consequently made no preparations for action. It happened, however, to be the corsair of Rais Hamida, who displaying an English ensign, approached the unsuspecting Portuguese; and was not discovered until he came within hail, upon which he immediately laid the enemy on board, and by a *coup de main* took possession of his prize, before the officers and crew had time even to arm for their defence.

Once, while in the neighbourhood of Pantellaria, he made so many friendly signals, as to induce the commandant to believe, that his was a British ship of war. With this idea he went off to Hamida's ship, and was not only retained, but loaded with chains. The predominant defect of Hamida's character, like that of most other people, was his fancying himself a man of great virtue. Distinguished merit becomes lessened by self-examination, while mediocrity is viewed by its possessor in an inverse ratio. Eyes were not given for the purpose of looking into ourselves. The Rais was also fond of depreciating the merits of others, by attributing every success to his own bravery and talents; like his prototypes in the more civilized world. This arrogant feeling had the effect of making Hamida undertake more than he could, by his single exertions, ever hope to per-

perform. He might indeed be with propriety compared to an officer, who boasted of being his own colonel, his own lieutenant, and his own sergeant, "Yes," said another, "and your own trumpeter also!" Nor was Hamida by any means strict in repressing the excesses or love of plunder, so natural to his crew, upon both of which he frequently shut his eyes. This conduct he justified, by saying these were trifles below the attention of a good general. Besides, he was not ambitious of sharing the fate of two of his predecessors, who from wishing to restrain the Janizaries on similar occasions, lost their lives. He scarcely ever walked about the ship, but seated cross-legged on a conspicuous part of the deck, he generally passed three or four hours of the day, occupying himself between the intervals of giving orders, in smoking, and smoothing down his mustachios. In action too, though he displayed both valour and intelligence, his violence and impatience was a source of constant annoyance to his inferiors. Cardinal Dubois, who was equally notorious for sudden bursts of passion, generally vented on his poor secretaries; once in a great press of business, swore that he must add at least thirty more to conclude it "Take only one, to abuse us for you," tranquilly replied an *employé*, "and all will go on with order and celerity!"

Driven about by adverse winds, we at one time came in sight of the fatal spot in which, previous to taking shelter in San Pietro, we saw the squadron. The barbarians seemed, at this period, to be at once the rulers and terror of the ocean: not a vessel could leave their port, and the smallest coasting boats, could alone avoid them; by creeping along the shore during the night. The southerly winds continuing, I at last beheld the Italian peninsula, and even Tuscany, the place of my birth, but under what circumstances! And in what a situation! It was thought we had discovered an American, with which nation the Algerines were then at war, but proving to be French the chase was abandoned; upon another occasion, we came in contact with a vessel having an English pass from the consul at Cagliari, but

whose crew was composed of Genoese and Tuscans. When sufficiently near, they were ordered to send their boat and papers on board; and on this occasion, I had the honor of being selected as the Rais's interpreter. This afforded me the gratifying opportunity of being serviceable to my compatriots, who were made excessively ill at ease by the rencontre; and in the midst of my own troubles, it was no trifling consolation to reflect, that by giving the most favourable explanation of their papers to the Rais, I might be instrumental in hastening their liberation. I was not deceived in this hope, and we had soon after the pleasure of seeing our trembling countrymen finally released. It was not, however, without some little uneasiness that I reflected on the impression which my temporary elevation, and apparent familiarity with the Algerine commander, might have made on the visitors; who, in the event of returning to Tuscany, would perhaps represent matters in a light not the most flattering to my feelings. It would have produced a fine effect amongst my Florentine acquaintance, some of whom are far from inimical to a little scandal, to hear that the humble Fillipo Pananti was a great man in Algiers; officiating as the *fac totum* and *proto-quamquam* of the lord high admiral. Such a representation, the *gobes mouches* of Florence might have readily magnified into a change of religion and a pilgrimage to Mecca, together with the various other blessings attendant on apostacy.

E come dir di me questo si debbe,
E creder ch'io sia Turco e che assassini,
Io che faccio una vita che potrebbe
Farla il padre guardian dei Cappuccini?

Those who were disposed to think of me in this way would have done me but little justice: in the hands of the Moors, as poor Gil Blas was in those of Orlando and his companions, it was much more difficult to escape from the frigate than from the cavern. Instead of having only to elude the vigilance of Domingo, there were a hundred athletic Turks with bludgeons, which would at any time have been as unmercifully

applied to my shoulders, as that of the old negro's was to those of Le Sage's hero on his first attempt to leave the *souterrain*.*

Rais Hamida having began to indulge an idea, that a successful descent might be made on the coast of Naples, a council of war was forthwith assembled, in order to discuss this weighty matter. Councils of war are generally fatal to the execution of great enterprizes, as fear gladly shields itself under the mask of prudence. The accuracy of this remark was fully exemplified on the present occasion; when, instead of landing on the coast of Naples, the junta prudently determined to pass the approaching feast of *Bayram* in Algiers. Gratifying as it was, to see the piratical scourge removed from the coasts of Italy, yet we left them with feelings of regret; a sentiment easily conceived by those who consider the peculiarity of our situation. It is related of a Frenchman driven from Paris, in the heat of the revolution, that he was so attached to his native country, that, rather than lose sight of it altogether, he embarked his family on the Rhine, where he continued with his eyes constantly fixed on the frontiers. until better times enabled him to return,

Previous to our sailing in the immediate direction of Algiers, we made a winding course towards Marseilles. And this was even followed by a determination to take a turn on the coast of Tunis. Thus, after having witnessed their efforts against Christianity, we were destined to see them repeated on their own fraternity. If any persons were ill-natured enough to insinuate, that we had, by thought or deed, participated in the triumph of the infidels, our co-operation in their attempts upon the Tunisian coast, would, no doubt, be regarded in a much more favourable point of view. As in the case of an ignorant student of Italy, who was considered by his more learned judges,

* I am inclined to believe, that these remarks of the author were excited by some others, which were made by certain *chiaccheroni* of Florence, that might have occasionally amused themselves at the expence of poor Pananti, who would most willingly joke upon any subject except that of his excursion to Algiers.—*Ed.*

unworthy of a medical diploma, but obtained it nevertheless, in consequence of stating, that he was going to practice in Turkey!

From the coast of France till we arrived on that of Sfax and Susa, we encountered no adventure worthy of notice; and the sea was so destitute of ships, that Rais Hamida might exclaim with the Corsair of Lord Byron, that the solitude of waters was not enlivened, even by the sight of an enemy.

It may be proper in this place to give some account of the war, which the Algerines and Tunisians waged against each other, at the above period, unequalled in virulence as it was frivolous in its motives; but however calculated to gratify party spirit, or vindictive zeal, the true followers of Ismalism well knew that

Corsaires attaquant corsaires,
Ne font point leurs affaires:

so that its chief popularity rested with the principal actors. Hostilities had frequently broken out during the last thirty years, between the two regencies, and most probably, resulted in reality from that jealousy so natural to neighbouring states of nearly equal power. Strengthened by the claims for tribute money insisted on by the government of Algiers, for the very active part it had formerly taken in placing the family of Hamouda Basha in that of Tunis, a valuable annual present was made for many years after Hamouda's accession; but as the power and solidity of his government increased, he began to relax in sending it with his former punctuality, at a time too, when custom had induced the Dey of Algiers to consider it as his due. The pride and arrogance of those Algerines who frequented the Tunisian territory, had also become very intolerable; and the *ukild*, or ambassador of Algiers resident at Tunis, wished to exercise an authority equal to that of the Bey. Tired of such repeated indignities, the enraged Hamouda swore by his beard, and the koran, that he would no longer bear such degradations: he therefore flatly refused to make any future present, and even went so far as formally to declare war against

his oppressors. This step did not altogether please the pusillanimous individuals of his divan, but was loudly applauded by the populace. Making at least a show of magnanimity, Hamouda asserted that the most disastrous war was preferable to a dishonourable state of peace; and for the successful termination of the present undertaking, he relied on the justice of his cause, and its well known popularity amongst the people.*

The Algerine government had a decided superiority over its rival in numbers and treasure; while that of Tunis had more stability. Though Algiers could send more men into the field, the Tunisian army possessed a greater moral force. The Algerine army was chiefly composed of irregular troops, without pay or proper subsistence. Completely undisciplined, they separated and fled at the first disasters, frequently putting their generals to death. The Tunisians were, on the contrary, tolerably well paid, and consequently better affected towards the Bey; they had also a more improved artillery, which was directed by several Christian slaves. Tunis derived another very material advantage over the enemy, in the popular form of its government, which, composed indiscriminately of Moors, Turks, and Arabs, is infinitely more national than that of Algiers, arising from Tripoly and Algiers being still exclusively in the hands of Turkish adventurers, while the Tunisian government has tranquilly passed into those of a Moorish family which has also become hereditary. On the other hand, the Algerines had a manifest advantage in their secret intercourse and political influence with the Turkish soldiery of Tunis; who, knowing that it formerly belonged to themselves, were naturally anxious to regain their ascendancy, and thus be on an equality with their Algerine brethren.†

The Tunisian forces consisted of four thousand Turkish soldiers,

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* Hamouda seems to have argued as if he knew something of European politics.—*Ed.*

† The subject is somewhat illustrated in the Letters from the Mediterranean, Vol. II. Chap. IV. and V.—*Ed.*

each of whom received about two-pence per diem: all their sons by Moorish women, who amounted to several hundreds, and are obliged to serve, besides the whole of the native warriors called the *Zouavi*. Whenever war is declared, the Bey calls in all the youth of his kingdom capable of bearing arms, the Bedouin chiefs never fail to attend the summons, bringing with them a numerous cavalry, so that upon great occasions the army may amount to nearly one hundred thousand men. The naval force was composed of a forty gun frigate, bought at Malta from English merchants, but previously taken from the French; and eight or nine smaller ships, mounting from thirty-six to twenty guns, together with about fifteen gun-boats.

Although whenever the parties met, they fought desperately, yet the war was conducted in the most indolent way imaginable; without any apparent object to be attained, or anxiety for its conclusion; while neither of the belligerents were sufficiently active, to produce a decisive result on its opponent. In the campaign which preceded our appearance off the coast, the Tunisian army had gained some very considerable advantages, owing to the stratagems employed by a Christian slave who superintended its artillery; and, by forming a masked battery on a spot, near which the Algerine cavalry passed in pursuit of the Tunisians, which destroyed a large portion of it. Upon this occasion the whole army of Algiers was routed, and driven under the walls of Constantina.

With respect to the government of Tunis, as already observed, it is monarchical and hereditary: though, like all the Turkish states, subject to incessant and violent revolutions. Previous to the accession of Hamouda Basha, the Janizaries governed with undivided sway, after the model of Algiers and Tripoly; but they have, ever since, notwithstanding their desperate efforts to regain power, been considered merely as auxiliaries. The brother and successor of Hamouda Basha, Sydi Ottoman, who came into power in 1813, on the former's death, had been chief aga of the Turkish soldiery, and still continued to shew them great favour: this gave rise to a strong feeling of dissa-

tisfaction and jealousy on the part of the Moors. Ungrateful for the benefits they were receiving, and even stimulated by their recent exaltation, the Turks attempted to change the form of government, or elect another bey from their own ranks, in the manner of their fraternity at Algiers. This project ended in the total destruction of the principal ringleaders, and degradation of the rest, to a level with the Jews and Christian slaves. But they are a race, in whose hearts the spirit of vengeance does not easily sleep; as proved by various commotions which have agitated Tunis since the above period; and, more particularly, upon a recent occasion, when, having determined to make another attempt at revolt, they offered the reins of government to a relation of Mahmoud Basha, the reigning Bey,* and on his refusal, the leading Turk proposed himself as their future chief. He was violently opposed by the *Zouavi*, who finally succeeded in their resistance to the traitors; decapitating their leader, together with most of his companions: a part of them, who had taken possession of the Goletta, on hearing the result of the attempt in Tunis, immediately seized four shabeques which lay in the road, and, proceeding up the Levant, were captured by the Captain Pacha, who beheaded several of them. Since that time, nothing very material has distinguished the Tunisian history; the government is now, no doubt, as firmly established as violence and usurpation can make it.

The revenues of this state are collected at two different periods of the year, when a large body of troops, of which one third is composed of Turks and the remainder of Moors, commanded by a *Caia*, with several agas under him, is employed to receive it, or enforce the payment of taxes, if necessary. The camp is generally followed by nine cooks or purveyors, who are much respected by the Moors, and

* This man is third brother of the late Bey Hamouda Basha; and in order to obtain power by the most popular means in Barbary, caused his brother who succeeded Hamouda to be strangled with all his adherents; and amongst the rest, the Zapa Tappa, and Mariano Stinca, both particularly noticed in my account of Tunis. The latter I often warned of his impending danger, advising him to get away before it was too late.—*Ed.*

frequently rise to the post of *Doletros*, or chief justices. Barbary is not the only country in which a knowledge of the culinary art leads to emolument and place.

Rais Hamida having ineffectually prowled about the vicinity of Suez for some days, at length determined to make his appearance before Tunis, in the hope either of enticing his enemies to come out, or pick up a few prizes. The ridiculous attempts of both parties to make a semblance of bravery, while in this neighbourhood, furnished a pretty strong specimen of that mixture of ferocity and bombast which has enabled these wretches so long to impose on the timid credulity of nations; giving them credit for talents and valour, which no people under the sun are farther from possessing.

On getting tolerably near the Goletta, the Tunisian squadron, whether disinclined or unprepared for the combat, immediately hauled in under the guns of the fort. Upon this, Rais Hamida, placing his squadron within about four miles of them, began a most furious though useless cannonade, which continued at intervals, during the two days we remained off the anchorage: not one shot having, in all that time, reached its intended destination; so that if no glory was acquired, there was at least noise enough made. At length, after various bravadoes on both sides, in which mutual defiance was substituted for action, our admiral seemed to say to his rival, "If you don't come out, I am off!" and accordingly we directed our course to the westward, along the Tunisian coast. *Comment va le siége de Gibralter?* was asked during the glorious defence of General Elliot. *Il va bien, il commence à se lever*, was the answer. In compliance with long established custom, I dare say, that in the present instance, both sides claimed the victory; and, if following the example of other nations, there had been *bulletins* and gazettes extraordinary, we should, no doubt, have been favoured with a good stock of splendid descriptions and magnificent lies. While one party boasted of having obliged the enemy to retreat, the other might, with equal truth assert, that his opponent fled in disorder. However trifling and

unimportant our feats before Tunis were, it was evident that each party claimed the victory; and for this purpose, signals of exultation were mutually displayed. Without pretending to decide who had most reason to congratulate himself on the result of his labours, the many salutes which followed, strongly reminded me that there are *feux d'artifice*, as well as *feux de joie!*

During the few days we continued to hover about this part of Africa, it recalled a thousand recollections, which seemed to interest and amuse the mind, at a time when it was glad to rely on any thing for consolation.

In viewing the shores of Numidia and Mauritania, the names of Dido, Juba, Syphax, Jugurtha, and Massanissa, passed in rapid succession over the imagination, as if only its own creation, and not the sovereigns of great countries! Pursuing the eccentric evolutions of thought, and looking into the history of modern times, Sfax reminded us of its bombardment and destruction by the Chevalier Emo, the celebrated Venetian admiral. A sight of Tunis and the Goletta, was calculated to call forth mingled sentiments of pity and admiration: on the one hand, admiration for the heroic exertions of Charles the Fifth; who, even in a comparatively barbarous age, saw the impolicy of suffering lawless hordes of pirates to plunder Europe, and arrest the progress of civilization; of pity, for the melancholy and premature fate which attended Saint Louis, whose pious, though sometimes ill-directed exertions, were, notwithstanding, thought worthy of canonization. Byrsa too, once the illustrious Carthage, was before our eyes! producing a melancholy reflection upon the fleeting instability of earthly grandeur. Here was an end to all human distinctions and worldly priority. Forgetting the errors of antiquity, our admiration was equally divided between the virtuous inflexibility of Regulus in chains, and the stern genius of Hannibal, yielding to the superior destinies of Rome.

In another quarter we pictured to ourselves the magnanimous Agathocles of Syracuse, who landing on the Carthaginian territory, burnt his fleet, so as to leave his troops no alternative between death and victory. Farther on we beheld his glorious successor, whose price

of victory was the abolition of human sacrifices: here was the ancient Ades, celebrated by the defeat of the Punic fleet; there the *Acque Calide*, near which the ships of Octavius were wrecked. The bay of Adrametum, memorable for having afforded shelter to the conqueror of Pharsalia; and the impetuous stream in which the intrepid Massanissa found a grave! Nor was that inexorable scourge of Africa, the sanguinary Genseric, whose path was marked by blood and rapine, forgotten; or the persecuted Belisarius, who, on the shore before us, shook the empire of Vandalism. Whether, in fact, we contemplated the dignified heroism of Asdrubal's wife, burying herself and children in the flames; or the maternal piety and generous nature of the tender Sophonisba: all on this gloomy shore, once the region of incense and of myrrh, and which in its days of triumph, was justly considered the most prolific garden of the universe; tended to excite reflection, and inspire melancholy. It is true, the purity of its sky, and fecundity of soil is the same: but, alas! the iron hand of despotism has blasted all with sterility and death! What, indeed, cannot a government effect, either to create or destroy? Nearly the whole of our course along this part of Africa, presented one continued scene of ruin and devastation, a wide field of sorrowful remembrance. We love to dwell on the scattered vestiges of ancient monuments, upon which the hand of time is so deeply engraven; and an immense space, is, as it were, united in one small point. Seated on the ruins of time, we interrogate past ages: and in contemplating, with a sublime horror, those spots, the solitary proofs of man's nothingness, we recognize, with fear and trembling, the sad instability of all human affairs.

Giace l'alta Cartago; appena i segni
Dell' alte sue ruine il lido serba.
Muoiono le città, muoiono i regni:
Copre i fasti e le pompe arena ederba:
E l'uom d'esser mortal par che si sdegni
O nostra mente cupida e superba!*

* V. GERUSALEMME LIBERATA, Cant. xv. thus imitated by Mr. Hoole:

Now to the knights the pilot damsel shew'd
The spot where once imperial Carthage stood.

But, as Chateaubriand very properly remarks, the ruins of Africa possess a character altogether peculiar to themselves, filling the mind with the most gloomy images, without one consolatory reflection; the natural consequence of their being rather the result of barbarous violence and brutal rage, than the more slow and solemn operation of time. The convulsions which have desolated this beautiful region, have been infinitely more terrible, than the effects produced in other countries by the long course of ages: they present a dreary void, unaccompanied by any regenerating power. Time, lending his scythe to death, saw him in an instant, destroy that, which might otherwise have been preserved for many centuries; and which it required ages of human labour to create: all is ruin in this world, but the greatest destroyer is man!

The winds not being altogether favorable for our getting to Algiers, we put into Bona; and the anchors were scarcely down, when the Turkish soldiers, armed from head to foot, rushed on shore like a torrent, and, as if in an enemy's country, began to plunder the inhabitants without mercy; imitating the well known troops of organized banditti, who ravaged Italy during the fifteenth century. Strange to reflect! The same religion and government is, in this country, no protection to the people, when it suits the convenience of the licentious soldiery to rob and pillage. We observed from on board, several of the natives seeking safety in flight, and carrying off as many valuables as they could from the apparently general plunders of the town.

Bona is generally thought to be the *Hippo Regius* of antiquity, of which St. Augustine was the bishop; it was a royal city of Numidia, which, in the manner of France, under Buonaparte, had also its cities of the first, second, and third order. Dr. Shaw is,

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Ill-fated Carthage! Scarce, amidst the plains,
A trace of all her ruin'd pomp remains!
Proud cities vanish, states and realms decay,
The world's unstable glories fade away!
Yet mortals dare of certain fate complain;
O impious folly of presuming man! *Ed.*

however, of opinion, that *Hippo* was situated a mile to the southward of Bona. The inhabitants of this place, during the middle ages, carried on an extensive trade in figs, calling them after their favourite saint. Near the town, some ruins are shewn to this day, which are said to have formed a part of the convent in which he resided. The chief vestiges of Roman antiquity seen at this place, consist of some arcades, with double roofs, in which the bricks are of a very large size, most probably cisterns; a mosaic pavement, and tracks of a road like the Appian way.*

The river Seibouse, which joins the sea at Bona, is choked up at its entrance with sand, and consequently not capable of admitting large vessels; the roadstead is rather open, and exposed to northerly winds. Its principal defence consists of a strong fort that commands the town, and the conquest of which, together with Bona itself, formed a memorable event in the more enterprizing days of the Florentine history, when the knights of San Stefano carried the terror of our arms all over the Mediterranean, but more particularly into Africa. To what a source of bitter reflection did not this visit to Bona lead in our anxious thoughts! Our brave ancestors had conquered it, and we were brought there as slaves! In these enlightened days, the insignificant states of Tripoly, Tunis, and Algiers, insulted, with impunity, every power in Europe; capturing the ships of some, and condemning the crews to slavery. While, in former times, the galleys of Tuscany were more than a match for them, wresting the Balearic

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* On the subject of Bona Dr. Shaw observes, that besides the capacious road before it to the east, "it had formerly a convenient little port under its very walls to the southward; but by the constant discharge of ballast into the one, and neglect of cleansing the other, both are daily rendered less safe and commodious."—A true picture of the preservative virtues of a Barbary government! In another place he adds, "Bona has the advantage of being finely situated both for commerce and hunting; it enjoys an healthful air, and affords so fine a prospect, that the eye takes in at one view the sea, a spacious roadstead, several mountains covered with trees, and plains finely watered: so that by repairing the old ruins, and introducing fresh water into the town, it might be rendered one of the most delightful and flourishing places in Barbary." Vide SHAW'S TRAVELS.—*Ed.*

islands from their hands, and vindicating past injuries, by the most brilliant achievements gained over Musetto, king of the Saracens, whom they dispossessed of Sardinia.

The situation of Bona, its spacious bay, and easy communication with the interior, would, under a different order of things, make it one of the first commercial emporiums in Africa. Nor is it unimportant to observe, that, as an eligible place for disembarking troops and artillery, or, after they are on shore, enabling them to commence immediate operations, this point is hardly equalled by any other on the whole continent. The more ample consideration of this important question, will be discussed in another part of the work.

CHAPTER III.

Arrival in ALGIERS.—*Landing.—Appearance before the Heads of the Government.—Prison of the Slaves.—First Day in Slavery.—The Employment.—Hours of Repose.—Public Works.—Liberation.—Arrival at the British Consulate's.—Lost Riches.—Still greater Losses.—Consolations.—Unfortunate Companions.—Mode of living at* ALGIERS.

HAVING closed the work of plunder, and procured some refreshments, not the least agreeable part of the visit, to us; the squadron again set sail, and, steering along the coast of Mauritania, we had an opportunity of observing those objects, so happily described by Carlo and Ubaldo, when sent to draw Rinaldo from his inglorious retreat.

At length several white specks began to rise in the western horizon, and a fine breeze soon brought us in sight of the great centre of piracy, so justly apostrophised by the poet,

Nido Algeri di ladri infame ed empio.*

Algiers forming an extensive semi-circle of hills rising in amphitheatric beauty round the city, and many of them studded with country houses, is exceedingly interesting and picturesque as seen from the sea; while the numerous vineyards, orange and olive groves which surround the town, shewing great marks of industry and cultivation, does not bear much analogy to the fierce character and vagrant life of these African tyrants. On approaching the anchorage, a shout of joy ran through the frigate, and marked the satisfaction of

* Algiers! abode of robbers, cruel and impious. *Tasso.*

the barbarians, nor had we any reason to be otherwise than rejoiced at the idea of having terminated our tedious voyage, embittered as it was by such misfortunes. So perfectly comparative are our notions of happiness, that the prospect of landing at Algiers, which, under any other circumstances, would have created the utmost horror, was, in the present instance, hailed with a degree of joy little inferior to that experienced by the first Templers on seeing Jerusalem. Like the patient, who, rather than bear the agony arising from his wounds, submits to a painful operation, we flattered ourselves, that the end of the cruize would also be that of our sufferings. St. Pierre has ingeniously compared adversity to the black mountain Beruber, on the confines of the burning kingdom of Lahor; the ascent to which is impeded by craggy rocks and frightful precipices, but having once reached the summit, the sky becomes serene, while the beautiful plains of Cashamere are seen spreading in the distance.

No sooner had the ships anchored, than preparations were made to land; when Rais Hamida, with a stern voice, inspired no less by his natural ferocity, than a consciousness of having us now completely in his power, ordered the Sicilian seamen into the long-boat, under charge of the Aga; while the passengers were destined to grace his own splendid triumph. In this crisis, at which another important change was about to be effected in our situation, I could not help recalling to mind, those terrible lines inscribed over the Inferno,

Per me si va nella città dolente:
Per me si va nell' eterno dolore:
Per me si va fra la perduta gente! *

which Rais Hamida seemed to repeat on desiring us to follow him

* INFERNO, Canto III. thus most inadequately rendered into English:

Thro' me the newly damn'd for ever fleet,
In ceaseless shoals to Pain's eternal seat;
Thro' me they march, and join the tortur'd crew. *Boyd.*

into the pinnace, appointed to convey us on shore; towards which we now directed our course, followed by our mournful companions in the Aga's charge. On the Rais's landing, he immediately ordered us to form a procession in his rear, and then moved on, with as much self-importance, as Sesostris with his four rebellious kings, or the ferocious Timur, conducting Bajazet in his iron cage.

An immense concourse had collected on the beach, to welcome with acclamations the triumphant return of the pirates: but we were neither plundered nor insulted, a treatment which many Christian slaves are said to have met with, on disembarking at this inhospitable place.

In the manner of the Roman ovation, we made a long circuit, to arrive at the palace destined for holding examinations of captives, and finally condemning their prizes. The Rais entered the building, while we remained outside of the door until called for. "What were you doing under that large heap of ruins?" was asked of the Duchess of Popoli, who remained three days alone under the arch of a palace destroyed in the great earthquake of Calabria. "*I waited,*" replied her grace.

A large awning being extended in front of the house, the scene shortly opened, exhibiting the members of the regency, in barbarous pomp and horrid majesty, seated before us; accompanied by the *ulemas*, or expounders of the law and principal agas of the divan. We were then, without farther ceremony or preamble, asked for our papers, which were duly examined; nor was that canting gravity wanting on this occasion, which is usually assumed to justify acts of rapine and plunder. They were then presented to the English consul, whose presence is always required on these examinations, to verify any claim he may have to make. This gentleman soon saw the insufficiency of our documents; but, stimulated by the goodness of his heart, and sentiments of pity for persons in our unhappy condition, he made every possible exertion to extricate us from the appalling dilemma with which we were now threatened. The circumstance of some of the party being natives of a country united to the dominion of France,

did not restrain the consul's generous efforts: we were unfortunate, and that was sufficient to ensure the protection of an Englishman. But Rais Hamida boldly sustained the remorseless laws of piracy: drawing the finest distinctions imaginable between domiciliation and nationality, he proved himself a most able jurisconsult, according, at least, to the African code of public laws.

"A good prize! Prisoners! Slaves!" was now murmured through the council, and soon communicated to the crowd assembled without; which, by its cries and vociferation, seemed to demand such a decision. The British consul then formally demanded the English lady and her two children; upon this being accorded, the Chevalier Rossi, her husband, advanced a few steps, and with dignified courage, supported his claim to liberation, on the principle of having married an English woman, and of also being the father of two British subjects, his children: this application being successful, he soon rejoined his anxious wife and children. Another attempt was now made in favor of us all by the consul, but without effect: this was followed by a cry in the hall of *Schiavi! Schiavi!* "slaves, slaves;" which horrible word was echoed by the multitude. The members of the council then rose, and, on the assembly's being dissolved, the consul and his attendants, together with the Chevalier Rossi and family departed; leaving us the devoted victims of slavery, in a state of immoveable insensibility, as one who scarcely hears the thunder, when he is enveloped by the lurid glare of its lightning.

Before we had recovered from our stupor, we were led off under the *Grande Scrivano* and *Guardian Basha*, who conducted us over a considerable part of the city, accompanied by a great number of spectators. It being Friday, the Moorish sabbath, hundreds of the infidels, in coming from the mosques, were soon attracted in every direction, to enjoy this new spectacle of degraded Christianity.

Arrived at Pascialick, or palace of the Pasha, inhabited at present by the Dey; the first objects that struck our eyes were six

bleeding heads ranged along before the entrance!!! And as if this dreadful sight was not sufficient of itself, to harrow up the soul, it was still farther aggravated, by the necessity of our stepping over them, in order to pass into the court. They were the heads of some turbulent agas, who had dared to murmur against the Dey's authority. Our fears naturally represented them, as having been severed from the bodies of Christians, and purposely placed there, to terrify the new inmates of this fatal region. A dead silence reigned within the walls of the building, in which suspicion seemed to have made her abode; while fear was depicted in every face. Being ordered to range ourselves before the Dey's window, to feast the despot's eyes, he soon approached, looked at us with a mingled smile of exultation and contempt, then making a sign with his hand, we were ordered to depart; and after a third circuit of the town, arrived before a large dark looking building, on entering which, we stumbled, as if by an involuntary impulse. It was the great *Bagno,* or house of reception for Christian slaves. Hence one of its pompous titles *Bafios os Esclavos,* which, without gilding the pill quite so much, may be plainly rendered by the simple word prison. Every fibre trembled, and our limbs tottered under us, as we traversed the horrid receptacle. The first words which escaped the keeper after our entrance were, "*whoever is brought into this house becomes a slave.*" He might well have added,

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi, che 'ntrate!*

In passing through the dark and filthy court yard, we were surrounded by a multitude of slaves, bearing about them all the signs of abandoned sufferers. They were ragged, lank, and haggard, with the head drooping, eyes sunk and distorted, cheeks imprinted by the furrows of protracted wretchedness, which seemed to have withered the soul, and by destroying the finer impulses of their

* Ye heirs of hell,
Here bid at once your ling'ring hopes farewell. *Boyd.*

nature, left no trace of pity for the sufferings of others: so that we passed without the slightest manifestation of that sympathy so naturally expected in such a situation. Exhausted by long confinement, and wrapt up in a sense of their own melancholy fate, our appearance was viewed with a stupid indifference unaccompanied by any fellow feeling. During the few intervals, unoccupied in the public works, they remained shut up, wandering about like pallid spectres in this house of darkness and of sorrow.

Our ascent up the prison staircase, was not unlike that of a malefactor, when mounting the scaffold; but, as some indulgence is generally granted to condemned criminals, the keeper treated us during the first day with particular attention and respect; inviting us into his own apartment, and insisting that we should partake of his dinner, thus making up for the anxiety and fasting of the preceding day. There were at the table, besides myself and fellow passengers, three slaves, who had been many years in captivity, and were persons of birth and education. Amongst the rest, was Signor Artemate of Trieste, who possessed a mind adorned by education, and a character formed by long reflection and adversity; with the truest ingredients of friendship. In reciprocal misfortune, the consoling voice was not long silent. Like Attilius Regulus, we also were in servitude, on that very shore, which saw the Roman hero perish for his country; happily, if like him, we could evince the same intrepidity of soul and firmness of character.*

* Few captains of antiquity have excited greater admiration amongst the moderns than Regulus, and none more deservedly. The concluding part of his address to the senate, is the best possible eulogium on the memory of this truly great man, while it conveys a grand lesson to the patriots of every age and country. I give it in the eloquent language of Chateaubriand. "Je n'ignore point le sort qui m'attend; mais un crime flétriroit mon ame; la douleur ne brisera que mon corps. D'ailleurs il n'est point de maux pour celui qui les sait souffrir: s'ils passent les forces de la nature, la mort nous en délivre. Peres conscrits, cessez de me plaindre: j'ai disposé de moi, et rien ne me pourra faire changer de sentiment. Je retourne à Carthage; je fais mon devoir et je laisse faire aux dieux."—*Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem*, Tome ii. p. 245.—*Ed.*

The following day was occupied in communicating with the English consul and other friends in the city, together with the principal Jews, who were likely to be most useful in forwarding the work of liberation. For my own part, I began to view things in a somewhat more favourable light: my excellent friends, the Chevalier and Madame Rossi, warmly interested themselves with the consul in my behalf; while that worthy and philanthropic minister did every thing in his power to extricate me from the horrid situation in which I was placed. It was whispered at the *Bagno*, that I had been formally demanded from the ministers of his excellency the Dey; but that they had refused, there being only one amongst the number, who would condescend to liberate me, and that at the moderate condition of my paying down three thousand sequins in gold;* and this because the government knew I was a great *poet* wallowing in *riches!* Poetry and riches is indeed a strange association of ideas. Little did my new masters know the *value* of poets in Europe. It was further said, that they were not particularly anxious to release me upon any terms, it being his excellency's intention to avail himself of my *wonderful* talents in affairs of great importance. What on earth could he have done with me? Poet laureat; virtuoso of the bed-chamber, or musician extraordinary, to his highness the Pasha! I doubt whether either of these brilliant appointments would have turned *my* brain; for to me, chains are not the more acceptable for being made of gold.

While busied in these various speculations, the *Guardian Basha*, or principal keeper, took me by the arm, and commenced a grave sermon on the flattering prospects that seemed to await me. "Surely," said he, "your friends were born before you, and fortune has now evidently taken you under her peculiar protection, arriving a slave in Algiers, and the next day running the risk of obtaining a post, to which others do not arrive in a hundred years." While on this favourite strain I every moment expected to be compared to the fortunate Jo-

* About £1500.

seph, whose advancement was also preceded by golden dreams. "But you," pursued the Basha, "should leap for joy." "And have I not," said I, "every reason to be afflicted? What consolation can there be for him who is in chains?" "Weakness of human nature!" replied the Basha. "*Slavery is the natural state of man. All,*"—these were exactly his words,—"*all depends on the law of the strongest; on circumstances and necessity. We are all the slaves of custom, of the passions, of disease, and of death. But those who rise to power are no longer slaves: and thus you may have slaves at your nod; and by obeying one, command a thousand. You have a good head, can speak well, and are a great acquisition to us. When once interpreter and secretary to the Dey, you will swim in gold, become the lamp of knowledge, and possess gardens of voluptuousness: you will be a great personage, and all will bow before you.*"* "Too much honor! too much honor!" I answered: "I do not merit it. But by what accident has the Dey condescended to cast his eyes on me?" "Why," said he, "it was always customary for the Pacha to have a slave for his secretary: one of these infidel dogs having betrayed his trust, the Dey had his head struck off. Another came, but this rogue used to carry news to the European consuls, and he was condemned to die under the bastinado. A Jew was next taken into the service of his highness, but as he only thought of making money, his treasures were seized and himself burnt. A Moor and Arab were successively tried without effect, and after being removed had their heads taken off, to avoid telling tales. The Dey having once more determined to try a Christian, you are the happy man upon whom he has fixed his choice." "But tell me, for curiosity's sake," said I, "how long did the two Christians, Jew, Moor, and Arab remain in office?" "Some continued three, six, and ten months; but none reached a year's servitude: all had a short life and a merry

* Would to Heaven that the sad reality of the Guardian Basha's doctrine did not extend beyond Algiers.—*Ed.*

one," was the answer. "The honors," said I then, "would be very acceptable, but involved, I apprehended, too much responsibility. A thousand thanks, therefore, for the interest you so kindly take in my advancement; but I fear pachas are too easily disgusted with their followers, and begin to play the tyrant rather early. Besides, I am not like the cardinal who exclaimed,

Vorrei sentermi dire
Segretario di stato, e poi morire."

"Name me but a secretary of state, and then let me die!" "*M. le Marquis,*" said a young gentleman to the minister d'Argenson, who was appointed to a regiment in the field: "I wish for life rather than immortality!"

After the above conversations, I naturally began to reflect on the good fortune which these folks were desirous of heaping on me; and, if left to my own ideas in the choice of a place, I determined it should be like that of the disappointed candidate for a public employment in London; who, after many fruitless applications, one day called on his expected patron, and told him he had at length procured *one;* when, being very civilly congratulated on his success, the patron ventured to ask what his new post might be. He satisfied the demand, by rejoining that it was *a place* in the Shrewsbury coach, which should, that very night, convey him from a town, where he was heartily tired of listening to the flattering and unmeaning promises of patrons.*

* The Abbe Tanzini, a Florentine, and a man of considerable genius, but whose manners were rather uncouth, finding himself once in the anti-chamber of a prince, where two other persons magnificently dressed were also in waiting, by the way of amusing themselves at the Abbe's expence, and rather overstepping the mark by taking a man in his simple garb for a fool: one of the gentlemen asked with a simper who he was? "Tell me who you are first," said the priest. "Why," replied he, "I am a gentleman who has the honor of serving his excellency the prince as secretary." "And I," observed his companion, "am the Signor N———, who has also the honor of being the prince's agent general." "And I," said Tanzini, "am the Abate Tanzini, who has the honor of not serving under any one!"

While thus occupied in conversing with the Guardian Basha, during which, passing to and fro, amongst the dark corridors, where the victims of servitude lay huddled in groupes, stretched along the bare earth, with nothing but a little covering of straw, the hour of supper arrived preparatory to that of repose. A short time before the English vice-consul, who had kindly recommended us to the Grande Scrivano and Guardian Basha, came to inform me of the steps which had been taken by his generous principal in my favour, with the Dey; and how, even at that late hour, he had taken the trouble of ascending the stairs of the Pascialick. On the other hand, my *friend*, the Grande Scrivano, determined to destroy the slight rays of hope shed by the vice-consul's visits, informed me, that I might now consider my fate as finally decided; for although there was, in the first instance, a possibility of the consul's eloquence and credit prevailing with his master, yet, the negative once given, my future doom became irrevocable; and that, even the exertions made for my liberation, when unsuccessful, could not fail to render the case more hopeless. As may be easily conceived, I passed a sleepless night, embittered by the most painful apprehensions. Although the scrivano had given up his bed and room, it did not facilitate my disposition to repose. In this trying perplexity, the maxims of the wise and good, did not altogether abandon me; nor could I entirely forget their influence in making us independent of adversity. Dionysius the younger, being asked what philosophy had taught him, replied, "to meet without surprize the vicissitudes of fortune, and support myself under them without complaining!" "When," said Calisthenes, "I find myself in a situation that requires courage and resolution, I feel that I am at my post. If the gods had only placed me on the earth, to lead a life of effeminacy and ease, I should have considered greatness of mind and immortality, an unavailing present." It has been truly said by a poet, that though we cannot command success, we may do more, we may deserve it.

Tyranny never sleeps, and even envies that of the wretched, whom it has bereft of every other blessing. The first rays of light

had not yet dawned, nor had either men or animals time to recover the preceding day's labour, when the turnkey, with a hoarse and stentorian accent, exclaimed, "*Vamos a trabajo cornutos!*"* "To work!" Such was the flattering expression used to call the slaves: and in which we too, had the unexpected honor of being included. I should also add, that it was followed by the application of a cudgel to the shoulders of those who manifested the smallest disinclination to obey the summons, in double-quick time. Previous to our quitting the prison, the black Aga made his appearance, bringing with him several iron rings, to be rivetted on our left ancles, there to remain in perpetuity, as a sign of bondage. These rings were slight, but they were those of slavery; and their horrible weight can only be known, to those who have worn them! Having successively applied them to the legs of my companions, the Aga put one into my hand, saying, that his excellency the Pacha, as a mark of *particular* favour, allowed me the distinguished honor of putting on my own ring! This is not unlike the fatal privilege granted to the viziers of the Porte, of strangling themselves with the cord sent for that purpose by their master. With similar feelings did I put on the dreadful emblems of servitude; which ignominious operation was followed by a cold sweat that covered my forehead: my heart panted with anguish, my eyes no longer saw the surrounding objects, I attempted to speak, but could not articulate; looking downwards, my eyes caught the degrading badge, and, with a deathlike silence I yielded to my fate.

The number of new victims of different nations mustered on this occasion, and all captured during the last cruize of the barbarians, amounted to two hundred. Being ordered to proceed to the scene of our labours, a mournful silence marked our progress, which was attended by guards both in front and rear, armed with whips, frequently

* A translation of the last word in this sentence, would, no doubt, be deemed too delicate for English ears: the reader is, therefore, referred to his Italian dictionary.—*Ed.*

repeating: *A trabajo cornutos; can d' infidel a trabajo;* "To work! Dog of a Christian, to work!" Thus escorted, we arrived at the public ovens, when two rusks of black bread were thrown to each of us, as if to mere dogs. I observed, that the old captives, who had arrived on the ground before our party, greedily snatched them up, and soon dispatched both with a frightful avidity. Arrived at the great hall of the marine, we found seated there, in all the pride of tyrannic power, the various members of the executive government, including the agas of militia, the grand admiral, first rais of the squadron, the cadi, mufti, ulemas, and judges according to the Koran. We were then ranged along in regular succession, selected, numbered, and looked at with particular attention; as practiced at the slave markets, formerly held in Jamaica.* With our eyes fixed on the assembly, and beating hearts, a profound silence reigned through the hall, when it was broken by the minister of marine, first secretary of state, calling out my name, I was then ordered to advance. On obeying, various interrogatories were put to me, relative to my occupations in England, and other relations with that country. Having answered them in the best way I could, the minister pronounced the talismanic words, *Ti star franco!* "You are free." We are told the most agreeable tones heard by human ears, are those of well earned praise; the most grateful sounds those expressed by a beloved object. No! The sweetest voice which can possibly vibrate through the heart of man, is that which restores him to liberty! To form an adequate idea of what I felt, on this unforeseen, and happy change of circumstances, it will be necessary for the reader to conceive a victim with the bandage on his eyes, and fatal axe uplifted, whose ears are suddenly astounded with accents of grace and mercy!

A case like mine was absolutely *unique* in the annals of Algiers; there being no example of a slave's liberation so immediately after his captivity without ransom: the decrees of those barbarians being

* Out, damned spot! Out, I say!

those of inexorable fatality. A soldier was ordered to knock off my irons: this done, he, in his turn, desired me to go and thank the minister; who, on addressing him, shook me by the hand, adding many expressions of civility; and finally, ordered the dragoman to conduct me to the house of his Britannic majesty's consul. The first impulse of joy had fairly inundated my heart. When once more at liberty, I could move my limbs with some facility. But the next thought was for my unhappy companions, who, on the strength of my liberation, were induced to flatter themselves with the fond hope of being treated in a like manner. Next to my own safety, nothing on earth could at that awful moment have afforded me such heartfelt satisfaction. Departing slowly with my new guide, I stopped repeatedly, and looking back with wistful eyes, vainly anticipated the pleasure of seeing them follow; but the order was already given to conduct them all to labour; their respective occupations were even pointed out. I saw them hanging down their heads, with eyes suffused in tears; they advanced a few steps towards me, pressed my hand, sobbed adieu, and disappeared!

Arrived at the British consulate, the dragoman left me: soon after which, my generous friend, the Chevalier Rossi appeared; when, as it will be readily conceived, our meeting was a most agreeable surprize to both parties. The recent circumstances would not admit of comment; but on such occasions, the language of the heart is more eloquent than that of the tongue. In a short time we were joined by the consul, whose countenance beamed all that serenity which arises from the performance of a good action; proving an old adage, that virtue is the best promoter of the circulating fluid, and consequent tranquillity of mind. The name of this worthy minister, and the highly important services which he rendered me, will be eternally cherished in my heart. To the recollection of this great act of beneficence, will be united those of benevolence and kindness, which form the characteristic of true gentility, considerably enhancing all its favors. It is impossible for me, sufficiently to applaud the eminent

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qualities of Mr. Mc Donnel. Courteous in his address and manners, with an elevated turn of thought and noble sentiments, uniting to the gentlest demeanour, the dignified pride and decision of character which belongs alone to merit; to exquisite sensibility, a mind full of acumen to regulate its movements, and employ it for the most useful purposes; to extensive knowledge, great application, without which, there is no possibility of attaining to perfection, or permanency: to generous inclinations, courage, and activity to virtue, without which, it may also be said, that the latter is of no use to its possessor; Mr. Mc Donnel is one of those men who do honor to humanity. Pre-eminently calculated to represent the British government, and defend the rights of the greatest naval power of the universe, few consuls have exercised a larger share of influence amongst these barbarians: so true it is, that power is not alone sufficient, if not seconded by talents and character.*

Having refreshed myself at the consulate, it was next recommended that I should proceed to the great prize magazine, for the recovery of my effects; which were ordered to be restored by the government. On arriving there, however, I found that all was invaded—money, books, merchandize and clothes! Nothing escaped the rapacious hands of the Turks and Moors; nor was there one single article forthcoming. This was indeed a severe loss: to have in a moment lost the fruits of so much labour, industry, and numerous privations. Thus, to have beheld the edifice, formed by years of personal exertion, crumbled into nothing; and that pardonable vanity, which every one has to revisit his native country with independence,

* Having devoted a considerable degree of attention to the study of those qualities which best become the representative of His Britannic Majesty in foreign countries, it has been highly gratifying to me to find them all united in the character of Mr. Mc Donnel, who will have no reason to regret his benevolent attentions to the author: while it is most sincerely hoped that a panegyric like the above, will not fail to stimulate the conduct of all those who may be at this time, or any future period of our history, placed in a situation calling forth the exertions of humanity and active benevolence.—*Ed.*

and the means of future ease; together with the additional pleasure of being able to contribute to the wants of his relatives and friends, frustrated. Behold, in one fatal moment, all these gratifying illusions at an end, and the fond dream of happiness broken! The effect of finding myself thus fallen from the little height of fortune, on which I stood before the day of captivity, was a source of heart-breaking affliction, which made me doubt, whether I was yet at liberty. Philosophers may preach up contempt of riches, and the virtues of moderation; citing the maxims of Cicero and Seneca, the verses of Horace, and example of Aristides, of Curius and Cincinnatus; all well intended, no doubt, but not at all satisfactory. Seneca and the orator of Arpino, who were so pre-eminent in eulogizing moderation and poverty, possessed splendid palaces, and delightful villas: and the poet of Venosa, who praised abstemiousness, did not disdain to drink Falernian wine, and court the favour of Mecænas and Augustus. Some riches, and, as the French say, *un peu de superflu, chose très nécessaire*, are required by the most rigid philosophy, not only to cheer the heart, but render it happy; that is to say, by affording it an opportunity of conferring favors; and, like the Man of Ross, dispensing happiness around us.*

Even talents themselves, shine more from being decorated with the splendor of gold; the *belles lettres* cut a more distinguished figure, if accompanied by good *letters of exchange*. How is it possible to develope the extent of talent, and force of genius, if both are oppressed with a constant recurrence to a man's humbled condition? To the necessity of providing for his daily subsistence!

Ah! who can tell how hard it is to climb
The steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar;

* Pope's inimitable pen was never better employed than in immortalizing the Man of Ross, and rendering his real virtues worthy of future imitation. Such are the men who ought to live in the recollection of posterity, and be eternally commemorated in poetic song, in opposition to heroes, and devastators, who, like the lightning fulminate mankind, and like that phenomenon, leave only traces of darkness behind them.

Ah! who can tell how many a soul sublime
Has felt the influence of malignant star,
And wag'd with Fortune an eternal war?
Check'd by the scoff of Pride, by Envy's frown,
And Poverty's unconquerable bar,
In life's low vale remote has pin'd alone,
Then dropt into the grave, unpitied and unknown!

Some means of independence are in fact necessary, without which, neither the heart nor mind of man, can be expected to retain that force and energy, so necessary to the pursuit of literature, and the glory which it occasionally produces. Want, in a better state of society, should never stimulate a man to obtain the prize of immortality by his pen. Letters and science are a divine art, and not a base calling: it is therefore a pity, that the man, who is so infinitely superior to his fellows in mental acquirement, should be obliged to descend to humiliations, and humble himself before those who live by his labours, and still make him feel his dependence. To enjoy that noble ardour, so necessary in the republic of letters, and the society of superior minds, which cannot be done without fortune, philosophers have justly exalted the advantages of mediocrity, which some have dignified with the title of *golden mediocrity*; the age of *peace* and innocence has also been sung, but the present has, with a good deal of justice, been called the *golden* age!

In addition to the entire spoliation of my personal effects, the greatest loss of all, that of my manuscripts, remains to be noticed: these were the very last things on earth, which I thought would have excited the cupidity of the barbarians. Perhaps they reasoned like that ferocious Saracen Omar, who destroyed the Alexandrian library; saying, "conformable to the Koran, they are useless; if contrary, they ought to be destroyed." However this might be, I felt the loss most severely, and in it seemed as if detached from my dearest connections.

Books, says Petrarch, are our best friends; those, whom

we have been most careful in selecting, and that most readily conform to our characters and tastes: they accompany us in the study, and follow us to the country, enlivening its solitude, and filling up the vacant hours of life; they speak and interrogate us, but if we leave them, they do not complain of our absence. They amuse in the hours of calmness and serenity. While they inspire us with hope and courage in adversity, they bring peace under the heaviest blows of fortune. Opening the page of history, they procure us the experience of ages, and extend, as it were, the existence; they enable us to converse with the absent, and live with the men of other days; and, by their means, we are enabled to penetrate into futurity.

Amongst the lost manuscripts, those which I regretted most, related to observations made in my various wanderings while absent from Tuscany: the fruits of long meditation, care, and industry; conveying a tolerably accurate idea of many important historical events, which passed under my own eye. By the loss of these, my fondest illusions seemed to vanish, and I thought myself thenceforward condemned to sloth, stupidity, and oblivion; together with all the inutility of an obscure life, and vacant soul. I anxiously sighed for repose, but wished it to be accompanied with genial studies, sacred to the cultivation of those flowers which the garden of literature produces, and the ineffable pleasure of courting the Muses. Friends will tell me, the heart and head remains; but the most laborious works, and best productions of the mind, are not the result of a moment: they require time and unabating perseverance. A fair and languid flower is soon produced; but fruits that last, must be matured by time: that which grows may remain, but the tree once blasted, yields no more. These bewailings will no doubt be attributed to the force of self-love operating on a vain mind; but those, who have experienced the pleasures communicated by a new idea, a bright thought, the offspring of a sudden impulse, who, in the moment of enthusiasm, and that tumult of imagination and sentiment, which is at once the emblem and source of creation;

when they feel a strength and vivacity, which raises them above their fellows, elevating them as it were to a heavenly nature. These gentle spirits, who in the tranquillity of their closets, in the secret conferences with the nymphs of Helicon, or solitary abode of philosophy, find more heartfelt pleasures, than all the tumult of the world, and delights of frivolous society, can afford to vulgar souls: who, with a pen in their hand, have considered themselves beings of another sphere, peopled by the most delightful dreams of imagination, and thus ranged within the rays of their own eternal celebrity: those will conceive the extent of my sorrow, and know how to sympathize in my unavailing complaints.

The anxious care with which an author endeavours to preserve the child of his fancy, or fruits of research, is not a new feeling in the literary world. A great writer of antiquity, being threatened with some eminent danger, placed his manuscripts between his teeth, determined either to save them, or perish in the attempt. Camoens too, when wrecked on the coast of India, held his immortal poem up in one hand, while he gained the shore by swimming with the other. It is well known how delighted Dante was, when by a most unexpected piece of good fortune his divine poems were saved from the destructive horrors of civil war, and the other disasters which attended his exile; embracing the bearer of them, and fondly exclaiming that he had recovered immortality for him. It is also related of Lebrun, the lyric poet of France, that his female servant prevailed on him to marry her; in consequence of threatening to consign his manuscripts to the flames, if he did not immediately accede to her strange proposition. I would have willingly made any sacrifice for the recovery of my own loss; but it was in vain that I searched every part: it was evident that all my papers had been thrown into the sea, and my name was thus lost in the oblivious wave.

Since the above period, I have felt no pleasure in writing; I seem to be oppressed with the leaden weight, which our great poet

has placed over the backs of hypocrites, and that also weighs on mediocrity. "I was," said Wieland, "in that happy situation, which gives to days the rapidity of moments, and to moments the impatience of centuries." I had cultivated a few flowers, and hoped to bring forth some fruit; but the harvest is over: discouraged and unhappy, I cannot prevail on myself to return to the Muses. "To be joyful and contented," said Alfieri; "it is necessary that the mind should be nourished by the fire of tender passion, or have some high and noble object in view." Or, as Lord Rochester observes: "Perform something worthy of being written, or write something that may be worth reading."

In the midst of all my losses, reflection did not altogether abandon me; and with that, I did not want for consolation. I recollected that there had been instances of people placing their chief merit in a just contempt for earthly riches; and amongst the rest, a philosopher, who the more freely to indulge his ideas of independence, gave up all his substance, adopting for his motto: *omnia bona mecum porto.* The result of losing the fruits of so many years' observation and research, is naturally that of being no longer able to publish; and in order to diminish the regret that might arise from this circumstance, I have the very great satisfaction of avoiding those innumerable evils and vexations to which the profession of an author almost invariably subjects him. And it is no inconsiderable blessing to escape these, from the verbal criticisms of the illiterate, to the still more unmerciful, and sometimes not very liberal castigation of reviewers, the caballing of pedants, and occasional injustice of the public; to dancing attendance on the booksellers, and bearing up against the *learning* of printers. Calling upon a great man, three months after *I did myself the honor* of presenting him with a copy of my last publication, I shall not have the mortification of finding it exactly on the precise spot of his study table, whereon it was deposited when presented, with the great additional comfort of there not being *one single*

leaf cut! And the bookseller may also be saved the unpleasantness of having *nine tenths* of a splendid edition bequeathed to his shelves in perpetuity.*

Availing myself of the facilities afforded to the book collector in England, I had formed a very tolerable library, intended to be the great companion of my future life. On contemplating the loss of this treasure, I was obliged to imitate the philosophy of Fenelon, who, when informed of the total destruction of all his books by fire, tranquilly replied, "I should have derived no profit from them, if they had not taught me patiently to bear with their loss!"

But all is lost in this world: friends, lovers, reputation, peace of mind, felicity, our patience, opportunities, fortune, and even our brains. To the ladies we lose our sighs and presents; our efforts, hopes, and supplications in the anti-chambers of the great; our money at *rouge et noir*, or five shilling loo; we also lose our time in talking to fools, and flattering coxcombs. The ambitious are bereft of

* Of all those grievances "that make the very angels weep," those noticed by the author are unquestionably the most distressing. In that long catalogue of minor sufferings to which humanity is exposed, whether we consider the many hardships to which literary men are subject, or that superior degree of sensibility which renders these hardships infinitely more acute than they could possibly be on more ordinary minds; there is no class of men entitled to a greater share of sympathy. Mr. Pananti's observations will, no doubt, come home to the feelings of thousands, amongst whom many, possessing the fire of genius accompanied with its latent virtues, have had more particularly to deplore that peculiar destiny, which has, in an enlightened age, condemned them either to struggle with adversity, or pine in oblivion; while their talents were of a nature to excite admiration, and if called forth by patronage, eminently calculated to improve the moral as well as intellectual condition of their fellow creatures. Completely dissatisfied with all the sophistry which has been put forth to account for the proverbial poverty and wretchedness of the *lights and beacons* of the world, I cannot divest myself of an idea, that after having imputed all the errors we can reasonably do, to their habitual indolence and unwise contempt of worldly concerns, there is a manifest want of sympathy towards them; and that, from branches of the community which could not study their own particular interest, or that of the multitude more advantageously, than in the occasional seeking out, and final protection of men of letters.—*Ed.*

tranquillity, and the dissolute of health; heroes of life, and lawyers of causes; princes lose provinces, and generals battles; the rich lose their wealth, the poor their shoes, and preachers the thread of their discourse!

If I had cause to complain of having fallen into the hands of the pirates, by which I merely lost my little property, with how much more reason had my companions to repine; who, in addition to that, were also condemned to slavery? "I complained," observes Sadi, "of having no shoes to wear; but, in passing by the entrance of the great mosque at Damascus, I saw a man who had lost both his legs; upon which I ceased to complain, and no longer murmured against Providence." "All is lost, save our honor;" said a great monarch on losing the battle of Pavia; and with him I can repeat, that I lost all but my liberty.*

* In a country like this, where there is not quite so amiable a disposition to enter into those little feelings of self-love which form a striking feature of the Italian character, some will perhaps be induced to consider the author as having dwelt rather too long on the loss of his manuscripts; while those to whom he more immediately addresses himself, kindred minds, will readily enter into his sentiments, and make every allowance for a weakness, if it be one, which under similar circumstances they would most probably yield to themselves. From the manner in which Mr. P. has treated the subject of these memoirs, the public will be enabled to form a faint idea of how far he may be justified in so deeply lamenting his losses. In addition to a number of poetic effusions lost on the above occasion, there were also several very valuable notes on some of the most important events in the revolution, of which the author was an eye-witness. Besides his observations on the *miseries* of authorship, the original memoirs contain a note on the *comforts* of publishing one's own book! The agreeable ceremony of waiting on the gentlemen of the *trade*, to offer the manuscript: the whole appositely wound up by some remarks on *the incorrigible* errors of the press; and a dissertation on printers' devils; all which is so well understood in England, that it might well be considered as an insult to the good sense of the *literati*, were I to have suffered these remarks to appear in my translation. By the way of justifying Mr. P.'s complaints, it is proper to inform the reader, that the whole of his first edition, consisting of a thousand copies of these Memoirs, were, in his estimation at least, rendered unfit to meet the public eye, owing to its almost innumerable inaccuracies, occasioned by mere errors of the press. No very flattering compliment, it must be confessed, to the state of printing in Italy; where an author's work is frequently suspended, until the paper is made!—*Ed.*

It is now time to return to the fate of my unfortunate companions, who remained in chains. With respect to the crew, I had frequently the mortification of meeting them in the streets, loaded with irons, and sinking under the weight of their forlorn and degraded condition. The females, who had not yet been sold to the Moors, were received into the house of the Danish consul's wife, who treated them with all the delicate attention and generous regard, which their beauty and misfortunes were so well calculated to inspire. The two brothers, Messrs. Terreni, were exempted from labour, but remained in slavery. They inhabited a miserably small room, which was washed by the sea, where, with their eyes directed along the receding beach, or stretched on the gloomy region of tempests, they had an ample opportunity of bewailing their melancholy fate. They took their meals with a Livornese slave named Brunet, who possessed considerable talents, by which he was enabled to make some money while at Algiers, and enjoyed many privileges. This afforded him an opportunity of serving others; and the way in which he administered to the comforts of my two friends, proved a heart full of kindness and generosity. Having suffered himself, he knew how to feel for the woes of others. Men may be compared to certain plants, which yield a balsam for the cure of diseases when they are themselves wounded.

The Terrenis deserved those attentions, as well on account of their afflictions as their personal merits. "There is something perfect and finished in your character," said Bossuet to the Prince of Condè: "it is the lustre which misfortune gives to virtue." The ancients too, had a species of religious veneration for those trees which had been struck with lightning.

I often went to visit my friends, yet, what could I do but sympathize in their griefs? Or what offerings make beyond a tear? But even that was some consolation for them.

I pianti pietosi
Dei teneri amici

Pei cuori infelici
Che il duolo colpi.
Son come del cielo
Le molli rugiade
Sul languido stelo
Del fior che appassi.

"*The tears of pity and friendship, shed for those o'ertaken with grief, are like the dewy drops of heaven, falling on the stem whose flower is drooping.*"

By degrees, however, I was happy to perceive the captives had regained a little more calmness and serenity. When the mind is lacerated by sorrow, wisdom comes smiling, to sow her seeds on the heart moistened with tears; as the plough more easily turns up the ground, softened by rain, or the dews of heaven, before the husbandman throws in the hopes of the ensuing harvest. Wisdom is a rose, that flourishes best amongst thorns, and merit appears more luminous, when surrounded by the gloom of adversity: as the lamp acquires additional splendor from darkness.

Algiers is not one of those cities *où l'on peut se passer de bonheur:* on the contrary, there is nothing to render it agreeable to an European resident. The poet Regnard was once a slave here, but accompanied by his mistress Elvira: and what sorrows will not be forgotten when a beloved object divides them; or what weight of chains do not become light, when mingled with the tender ties of love? Regnard knew how to acquire the affection and esteem of his master *Sydi Thaleb*, by his vivacity and talents; not those of composing verses and comedies, but which are by many, even in Europe, still more valued, that of making pies and patties.

The Chevalier Rossi's amiable family, and myself, lived near the English consul's country house, and were daily in the habit of receiving some new marks of his hospitable attentions. I frequently descended into the town, but never discerned any object to excite interest or curiosity. No library, not even a coffee-room with a news-paper, or the society of a single individual from whom a new idea could be gained.

How indeed can it be possible for people, so full of barbarous prejudices, to pursue any study, or encourage improvements, with their slavery and indolence! Letters expire when variety and activity does not give rise to an incessant renewal of ideas. It is true, I occasionally conversed with the secretary of state, Rais Hamida, and one of the *Cadis;* with the latter of whom, I might be said to have contracted a kind of friendship. I was also introduced to the Dey; but his gloomy aspect was both terrifying and repulsive. "Looks of affability should ornament the front of kings;" but that of his highness, was never adorned with a sentiment of joy or pity. An Arabic poet compares the prince to a sea, "which should be avoided while ruffled by storms; but when tranquil, you may fish in it for pearls."

I always felt a secret horror in walking through the narrow, dark, and filthy streets of this shocking city. The heart is oppressed, and the very soul shut up, as it were, in its tortuous windings: respiration itself was attended with difficulty and pain. When I reflected on the reign of barbarism and servitude which surrounded me; a contrast between meanness and servility; of trembling and degradation; of haughty despotism and cruel bondage; and considered the circumstance of being encompassed on every side, with suspicion, jealousy, and hatred; that I was every instant liable to insult, chains, and even assassination: all contributed to oppress the mind, and embitter the feelings, absolutely destroying the power of thought. I knew that there was still a possibility of the tyrant's changing his mind with respect to my liberty, particularly as he expressed feelings of regret, at having given me up so easily; it was thus that Sylla repented having left Cæsar alive, if great things may be compared to small. So I was neither secure nor tranquil: like the philosopher, who, living under the reign of a certain tyrant, every morning, when he awoke, put his hand up to feel whether his head was on his shoulders!

CHAPTER IV.

Christian Slavery in ALGIERS.—*Its physical and moral Effects.*—*Observations on the Ransom and Liberation effected by the Expedition under* LORD EXMOUTH.—*Remarks on the various Accounts of* BARBARY *that have been hitherto published.* —*Object and Motives of the Author in laying his Account before the Public, &c.*

THOSE who have ever been at Algiers, and witnessed the fate to which Christians, falling into the hands of the barbarians, are condemned, cannot form any idea of that greatest calamity which fortune has in store for humanity; or into what an abyss of sorrow and wretchedness, their fellow creatures, thus situated, have been plunged. Even myself, who saw and proved it to a certain degree, in my own person, am at a loss for language equal to a description of what Christians feel and suffer, when precipitated into this dreadful situation.

No sooner is any one declared a slave, than he is instantly stripped of his clothes, and covered with a species of sack-cloth; he is also generally left without shoes or stockings, and often obliged to work bare-headed, in the scorching rays of an African sun. Many suffer their beard to grow, as a sign of mourning and desolation; while their general state of filth is not to be conceived. Some of these wretched beings are destined to make ropes and sails for the squadron: these are constantly superintended by keepers, who, carry whips; and frequently extort money from their victims, as the price of somewhat less rigour in the execution of their duty; others belong to the Dey's household; and many are employed by the rich Moors, who may have bought them at market, in the lowest drudgery of domestic employment. Some, like the beasts of burthen, are

employed in carrying stones and wood for any public buildings that may be going on: these are usually in chains, and justly considered as the worst among their oppressed brethren. What a perpetuity of terrors, series of anguish, and monotonous days, must not theirs be! without a bed to lie on, raiment to cover them, or food to support nature! Two black cakes like those already alluded to, and thrown down, as if intended for dogs, is their principal daily sustenance; and, had it not been for the charity of a rich Moor, who left a legacy for that purpose, Friday, the only day they are exempted from work, would have seen them without any allowance whatever. Shut up at night in the prison, like so many malefactors, they are obliged to sleep in the open corridor, exposed to all the inclemency of the seasons. In the country they are frequently forced to lay in the open air; or, like the Troglodite of old, shelter themselves in caverns. Awoke at day-light, they are sent to work with the most abusive threats, and thus employed, become shortly exhausted under the weight and severity of their keepers' whips.

Those destined to sink wells and clear sewers, are for whole weeks obliged to be up to their middle in water, respiring a mephitic atmosphere: others employed in quarries are threatened with constant destruction, which often comes to their relief. Some attached to the harness in which beasts of the field are also yoked, are obliged to draw nearly all the load, and never fail to receive more blows than their more favoured companion the ass or mule. Some are crushed under the falling of buildings, while others perish in the pits into which they are sent to be got rid of. It is usual for one and two hundred slaves to drop off in the year, for want of food, medical attendance, and other necessaries; and woe to those who remain if they attempt to heave a sigh or complain in the hearing of their inexorable master. The slightest offence or indiscretion, is punished with two hundred blows on the soles of the feet, or over the back; and resistance to this shocking treatment is often punished with death.

When, in marching, a poor slave is exhausted by sickness or

fatigue, and the cruelty of his usage, he is inhumanly abandoned on the high road, to be insulted by the natives, or trod under foot by the passengers. They frequently return from the mountains with the blood trickling from their limbs, which are, together with their whole body, covered with scars and bruises. One evening towards dark, I was called to by a hoarse voice: on drawing nearer, I beheld an unhappy being stretched on the ground, foaming at the mouth, and with the blood bursting from his nose and eyes. I had scarcely stopt, struck with horror and apprehension, when, in a faint voice, the word "Christian! Christian!" was repeated. "For Heaven's sake have pity on my sufferings, and terminate an existence which I can no longer support!" "Who are you?" was my reply. "I am a slave," said the poor creature, "and we are all badly treated! An oldak of the militia who was passing this way, and happening to be near me at the time, he exclaimed in an angry tone, 'dog of a Christian, how dare you stop the road when one of the faithful passes!' This was followed by a blow and a kick, which threw me down a height of several feet, and has left me in this condition."

On another occasion the situation of a still more unfortunate slave, was equally calculated to excite my indignation and sympathy. He was sorrowfully seated under an old wall: at his feet there lay an immense load, under which he seemed to have sunk; his visage was pallid and meagre; with looks full of wildness, and eyes fixed on the ground, all expressing strong signs of premature age, brought on by grief and sufferings; raising his head, he seemed to become more agitated, and striking his breast and forehead several times, deep sighs seemed to relieve his mind from some internal paroxysm of despair. "What can be the matter, my friend?" said I, addressing myself to this unfortunate wretch. "Why all these signs of misery and distress?" "Poor Christians," he replied; "there is no help for them in this world! and their groans are not heard in Heaven. I was born in Naples, but what country have I? Nobody assists me; I am forgotten by all. I was noble, rich, and illustrious in the place of my

birth; see how wretchedness and slavery can change the face of man. It is now eleven years since my sufferings began; during which time, I have in vain solicited the assistance of relatives and fellow creatures, but all to no purpose; there being no longer any one on whom I can place hope or reliance. To whom therefore can I turn my eyes for support? What have I done to deserve so much oppression and suffering?" After he had given vent to his feelings, I did my best to recommend patience, resignation, and hope. I also touched on the promises of eternal reward to those who suffer here below with becoming fortitude. All this was answered with a forced smile, accompanied by a look, which spoke volumes, and proved the little use of attempting to console or reconcile man to his ill-fated sufferings. While mournfully withdrawing myself from a scene which could only add to the poignancy of my own lacerated feelings, without mitigating those of a fellow creature, already oppressed with more than he could bear; the last time of turning to the spot, saw him rolling on the ground, and with heavy sighs, lamenting his melancholy fate.

Although a price is set on each captive, that the whole may encourage a hope of freedom; yet, from the peculiar mode in which their liberation must be effected, this hope is almost unavailing. If after having obtained leave to exercise their trade, they acquire any property, they are not allowed to pay it for their ransom. Offers of this kind have always been rejected, on the ground of the Dey's being legal heir to all the property of his slaves: and frequently, in order to get possession of it a little sooner, this honorable revenue is anticipated by the owner's being dispatched.

Captivity is thus surrounded with aggravated cruelties, which seem to have no end. Their forlorn condition has been very properly compared to those spirits condemned to inhabit the house of darkness and despair: who, according to a popular writer, are constantly enquiring what hour of the day it is, and as often receive the terrific reply of *eternity!* It is not enough that they should groan.

under excessive labour and multiplied blows; but derision, abuse, and contempt must be added: and this species of suffering is, if possible, more acutely felt than the former. "Faithless Christian dog," is the ordinary mode of addressing a slave; and this degrading epithet is invariably accompanied with the most insulting gesture, occasionally by personal violence. Whenever a captive is taken ill in Algiers, motives of self-interest call upon the Moorish proprietor for a little indulgence; but were it not for the benign charity of Spain, which has established a small fund to support an hospital for the reception of Christian slaves, the latter when overcome with disease, would be left to perish in the streets, and suffering humanity remain completely unassisted. By means of the above benevolent institution, they may at least hope to die in peace; and in the act of abandoning this vale of tears, be sustained by the hopes of future bliss. But the ineffable consolations of religion cannot be very liberally bestowed on these poor people, there being but one priest to soothe the bed of sickness, administer to the wishes of the dying man, and inspire the fugitive spirit with the bright hope of another and a better world!

The present clergyman, like another Vincenzio de Paoli, with a most philanthropic spirit and truly Christian zeal devotes all his time to the spiritual relief and comfort of the sick and infirm, to whom he is an angel of peace and consolation. But how can a single spiritual adviser, however great his exertions and well disposed, attend to three thousand Christians; of whom hundreds are scattered about the country, and have been for years, without appearing at a place of public worship? and in the absence of that necessary duty been doomed to hear curses and reprobation heaped on the great Prophet of Nazareth? It is only ten years ago, that even the tomb afforded no shelter to the remains of a Christian in this country: the rites of sepulture were for a long time absolutely refused to the bodies of Christian captives; and they were often left exposed in the open air to be devoured by reptiles and birds of prey. It was with considerable difficulty

that Charles the Fourth of Spain, obtained at an enormous price, a small space near the sea, which has since been the Christian burying ground; but it is not distinguished by any mark to denote the solemn purpose, nor a fence to defend the sacred precincts from barbarous intrusion. Thus do Christians live, and die in Algiers!!!*

Having endeavoured to communicate a limited notion of its physical effects, I ought also to make a few remarks on the moral tendency of slavery. All agree that loss of liberty is the greatest misfortune which can possibly befal a human being. Without any of those consolations which generally accompany other griefs, it does not give rise to any of those impulses which are calculated to support the mind in adversity. All our other sorrows awaken feelings of tenderness and sympathy in generous minds, and inspire respect. If not relieved, they are, at least, blest with commiseration. The prisoners who have been shut up in the Bastille, the fortresses of Spandau, Olmutz, Magdeburg, Stetin, and the Tower of Oblivion in Persia, displeased the great, and may perhaps have deserved incarceration; but they were regarded with some degree of importance, and as men of no common characters. When the exiles of Siberia passed, they were followed by a sympathetic look of pity not unmixed with admiration; people sighing, exclaimed: "There goes an exile!" As to slavery, you

* Melancholy as the author has depicted slavery in Algiers, I can safely assure the reader, from ocular proofs, that the above is very far from being an exaggerated picture. On the contrary, it only represents a small part of those sufferings to which captivity is subjected in Barbary. This topic, so deeply interesting to humanity, may receive some farther illustration by a reference to my Letters from Tunis and Tripoly, at both of which places I had frequent and ample opportunities of witnessing scenes infinitely more heart-rending than any brought forward by Mr. Pananti. Thanks be to God! that in the desire of improvement so eminently conspicuous in the history of the present day, the important question as to the absolute necessity of annihilating the *Barbary system*, has been universally canvassed, and as universally decided upon. Though tardy, there is now but one sentiment throughout Europe upon this point. And the irresistible voice of public opinion having once gone abroad, it only remains for the great powers to coalesce in the execution of a design which posterity will regard in a far different way to what it must the partition of Poland, and other similar political arrangements.—*Ed.*

cannot divest it of a certain opprobrium, and servile baseness; which freezes the heart, disgusts the sight, and repels sympathy. There is an unconscious horror created in the mind, towards this most unnatural state of man; and we proscribe the slave, as the Hindoos do the member of a cast, who may have violated the precepts of his religion. Even the captive himself, when long accustomed to be thus regarded, begins seriously to think his nature has experienced a change; and in that state of mind, considers himself as degraded as he is unhappy. Chains, while they are thought disgraceful by the free, depreciate the wearer in his own esteem, until his soul is deprived of all the salutary influence of liberty. It is thus, that the cultivated European, when left for any time a prey to his wretched fate, is at last persuaded to look upon himself as even inferior to the savages of Africa; and the man who was born free, to direct his piercing eye and noble front towards Heaven, sinks to the degrading alternative of forgetting the original intentions of nature. The soul has been often purified in the crucible of adversity; but in a state of slavery, there is something so abject and forlorn, that it destroys the courage, and quenches all the fire of generous sentiments, depriving its victim at once of mind and dignity. Another of its evils, and by far the worst, virtue, which teaches us to vanquish every grief, or render them sources of utility, is generally weakened, and often altogether extinguished in a mind habituated to slavery. Sorrow vitiates the heart where it breaks the spirit. The virtues spring from great and generous souls, while vice is the offspring of meanness. Religion too, that column of Heaven, to which we cling when all around us totters, ceases to afford consolation to the heart that is ulcerated: those who are taught to regard themselves as entirely abandoned on earth, no longer look to Heaven for support. It is true, while suffering together, they mingle their tears; but friendship, that

Mysterious cement of the soul!
Sweet'ner of life, and solace of society!

is mute, and lost to those who find no pity out of their own immediate circle. Instead of uniting for mutual support, hatred and envy more

frequently intervene to embitter their distress. The fortunate man is gay and animated; his heart smiles in unison with all around him; his soul is serene as a cloudless day: but he who has suffered from 'man's inhumanity to man,' or an iron destiny, feels that the streams of pity are dried up within him; while the flame which animated his heart in better days, is extinguished with his happiness.

A Persian traveller, who was sitting in the anti-chamber of an European sovereign, observed a person magnificently dressed; but who, notwithstanding the splendor and gold which covered him, appeared immersed in gloomy and sorrowful thoughts: he walked up and down the room, without being noticed or spoken to by any one. Struck by his singular appearance, the oriental enquired, who that great, but unhappy personage might be? He to whom the question was put, said, that he was a great lord of the court, and governor of a distant province, who had formerly enjoyed the first place in the monarch's favour, but that the prince had now withdrawn his protection, so that he only experienced humiliation and disgusts in the palace. Upon this, the Persian arose and disdainfully cried: *why do they treat him thus? Why is his life so embittered? If they have no regard for him, let them at least have a little pity for those who are so unfortunate as to be placed under his government!*

To conclude this melancholy subject, of all human sufferers, I have been taught to believe, the Christian slaves of Barbary are the greatest: being in that dreadful state, when, according to the sagacious author of Corinna, deep and long continued sorrow has absorbed every pleasurable emotion, leaving behind a sentiment of sadness and despair; a situation in which life seems embittered by an envenomed dart. They fall oppressed aud cast down by the weight of their sufferings: under the rod which smites them, they cannot any longer raise their heads. The gods, says a fine verse of Homer, snatch away all the spirit of those whom they have destined to fall into the wretched condition of slavery. Servitude is indeed a cruel necessity, which breaks and destroys whatever it encompasses.

From a subject like the foregoing, and that long train of melancholy ideas which its consideration is so justly calculated to excite, how highly gratifying is it, to be enabled by a fortunate and happy combination of circumstances, to follow it up by congratulating humanity at large, on the recent liberation of so many unfortunate sufferers; who had for many years been, as it were, forgotten by their European brethren.* Those warriors, who escaped the ravages of disease or the sword, during the long hostility which desolated the civilized world, found no difficulty in regaining their native homes, from the remotest corners of the earth to which their services may have led them; but the miserable children of Europe, who had fallen into the hands

* To relieve any little curiosity which may have been excited by that part of the foregoing narrative which relates to my companions in misfortune, it is in this place proper to observe, that they were, after two long years of bondage, amongst the number of those liberated by the British arms. The Messieurs Terreni on leaving Algiers, proceeded to Sicily for the arrangement of their mercantile concerns; the *ci-devant Hero*, together with the poor sailors, his crew, were no doubt sent on to their native island. But how am I to relate the hapless story of that beautiful young female, whose constancy and virtue drew forth so much admiration during our passage? Poor girl! Scarcely had her emancipation been effected, and she began fondly to imagine that happiness which awaited her return, than she was taken violently ill, and, melancholy to add, only survived a few days! Although consigned to an unknown grave in a barbarous land, her unhappy tale will live in the remembrance of all those who possess a tear for the sufferings of others: and the admirable lines of Pope may with such singular felicity be applied to the fate of this interesting female, that I trust no apology is necessary for their quotation.

What can atone, O ever injur'd shade!
Thy fate unpitied, and thy rites unpaid?
No friend's complaint, no kind domestic tear,
Pleas'd thy pale ghost, or grac'd thy mournful bier.
By foreign hands thy dying eyes were clos'd,
By foreign hands thy decent limbs composed,
By foreign hands thy humble grave adorn'd,
By strangers honor'd, and by strangers mourn'd!
Yet shall thy grave with rising flow'rs be dress'd,
And the green turf lie lightly on thy breast:
There shall the morn her earliest tears bestow;
There the first roses of the year shall blow;
While angels with their silver wings o'ershade
The ground now sacred by thy relics made!

of the Barbary pirates, were detained in the cruellest bondage, were not destined to share that blessing.

At the grand period of political restoration, an important negotiation was set on foot, for the restitution of inanimate statues and pictures, which ended in the complete accomplishment of its object; but not a word was said about restoring the white Christian slaves of Barbary! It was thought to be important to the peace and interests of Europe, to fill up the vacant niches in the museums of Italy, and cover the bare walls in the gilded palaces of kings; but it was not thought necessary to fill up the fire-side of those cottages, the inhabitants of which were dragging on a deplorable existence on the inhospitable shores of Africa!

Previous to the successful attack of Lord Exmouth, several hundred slaves were redeemed by paying their ransom, and the honor of this negociation also belonged to the British admiral; but can any thing be half so humiliating, as to have seen the great queen of the ocean, who had been so mainly instrumental in liberating Europe itself from bondage, entering into all the forms of solemn treaties with the impious regencies of Barbary, and thus acknowledging the previous right to make slaves of Christian subjects? Would it not have been more consonant to the high character and dignity of the British nation, had she peremptorily insisted on these marauders adhering more closely to the public law of Europe, after the peace of the continent had been obtained at so high a price, and by such unexampled sacrifices?—A peace which was violated by those unprincipled monsters, when the most powerful monarchs of Europe had entered into sacred alliances for its preservation!

Upon the important result of the British admiral's late expedition against the most guilty city, there can be but one sentiment of undecided applause throughout Europe; in as much as, that a real temporary benefit accrues from it, in the liberation of so many unfortunate sufferers. There cannot be a shadow of doubt, but that offended humanity called for a much more exemplary chastisement; but we

are not to reject a part, because the whole has not been obtained: and, in addition to the real benefits derived from this spirited exertion of the British ministry, it proves the very important fact of the extreme facility with which a well combined naval and military operation might be conducted on this interesting part of the African continent. But the more ample discussion of this momentous subject, is necessarily deferred, until I have endeavoured to make my readers more intimately acquainted with the history, government, manners, customs, and character of a people, who are surely destined by Providence, in its all-wise scheme of human improvement, one day or other to be once more brought within the pale of civilization!

Although a great many works have been published, relative to the coast of Barbary, yet it is universally acknowledged that those who have written on the subject, left a variety of points intimately connected with its general attributes, towards which the curiosity of the public is still anxiously directed: particularly at a time when the conduct of its respective chiefs have scarcely left one dissenting voice throughout Europe; as to the moral and political necessity of effectually destroying their future means of plundering civilized nations, and condemning their subjects to slavery. In alluding, however, to our stock of information, with regard to these states generally, a very important exception may be made, as far as relates more immediately to Algiers, upon which nothing either very elaborate or correct has appeared since the publication of Doctor Shaw's work, although nearly a century has elapsed. And however interesting on the score of Numidian antiquities it may be, it is by no means calculated to satisfy the more important and extended researches of the present day. To those, in fact, who have considered the subject, nothing can be more singular than the almost total indifference which has until very lately prevailed, as to the internal situation of a country, that is, on a very great variety of accounts, much more important to the people of Europe, than nearly all the other unexplored regions of that vast continent.

There is, it must be confessed, no difficulty in accounting for our extreme want of information as to the interior of Tunis, Tripoly, and Algiers. For such has been the jealous ferocity of their respective governments, ever since their first lawless establishment, that the enterprizing European adventurers, who visited Africa, seemed to prefer throwing themselves on the mercy of the wild savages of Ethiopia, rather than venture amongst wretches who make a merit of plunder and assassination. Gratifying as a more minute description of the above named states than has hitherto appeared, must undoubtedly prove to the public at large, I fear there is not much probability of that desirable object being accomplished, while the present order of things continue. In the mean time, there is no reason why we should not avail ourselves of the materials already within our reach, for the purpose of illustrating a subject, with which it is hoped the future destiny of Europe will be linked in a very different way to what it has been during the last three hundred years.*

Notwithstanding those difficulties which might have been supposed to impede the progress of my enquiries, yet the circumstance of knowing how little had been published on the subject of Algiers, determined me to collect all the information I possibly could while on the spot; and a perusal of most of those works which have appeared on Barbary since my return to Italy, confirmed me in an opinion that the details thus collected, would not be altogether unacceptable to the public: particularly as I had recourse to all those individuals,

* A young friend of mine, who is strongly imbued with the rage for exploring, and by a most unusual coincidence possesses an ample private fortune to promote his very praiseworthy views, left England for Tunis about eighteen months ago, with the full intention of going through all the interior of that regency if permitted. As he was extremely well supplied with books and instruments, I sincerely hope no trifling obstacle will induce him to relinquish so useful an undertaking; and confess I look forward with considerable anxiety to the result of his labours: knowing that from the little I have myself witnessed in that quarter, no part of the world contains a richer mine for the researches of an intelligent traveller.—*Ed.*

whether commercial or otherwise, who were likely to afford the most authentic accounts of whatever I wished to be informed upon.

In all attempts to describe the manners and customs of Mahometans, it is of course totally impossible to avoid going over a great deal of ground already trodden by other travellers. Nor will it, I presume, be expected: for although *nil novi sub sole*, may be justly applied to most subjects, I certainly claim some little exception in the present instance. Anxious that the following account of manners and customs in Algiers may contribute to the reader's amusement, my utmost ambition will be gratified if it should also be found to convey a little useful instruction. However defective my labours may have been, I shall not imitate the Abbé de Choisi, who, after having published a history of the church, was heard to declare: "*Now that my work is printed, I shall begin to study the ecclesiastical history!*" "*How did you acquire all your wisdom?*" was asked of some of the ancient philosophers. "*By interrogating those I met upon all that I was ignorant of,*" was the sage's reply.

CHAPTER V.

BARBARY.—*Derivation of its Name.---Soil, and Climate.—Short View of its general History, and of* ALGIERS *in particular.---Geographical Description.---Monuments and Remains of Antiquity.—The Capital described.*

THAT part of northern Africa called Barbary, has, like most other countries, furnished the learned with a controversy about the origin of its name: some deriving it from the Arabic word *Ber*, which signifies a desert; but this cannot surely apply to countries so rich and fertile. Others have fancied they could trace the appellation to a nearly similar sound with the above, meaning a man who speaks through his teeth. This is equally fallacious, not answering, in any way, to the present dialect of the Moors. In search of another derivative, the Romans are said to have styled it Barbary, from the ferocious character of its inhabitants; but, in addition to there being no historical record of this kind, a little reflection will show the improbability of such a significant epithet applying to a country which was civilized almost as early as their own; and containing, in after times, by far the finest colonies they possessed. Its extreme affinity to the modern inhabitants of this extensive region, proves very strongly, that the word Barbary is of much more recent invention than the time of the Romans. The most generally received opinion of the present day, traces it to Bereber, the country of shepherds; while some, however, deduce it from Berberi, people inhabiting near a strait. Be this as it may, no country on earth is more highly favoured by nature: and, next to Egypt, it was, while under the Roman yoke, justly regarded as the richest, and most productive of

85246

its provinces, and the granary of the state. Some writers honored this coast with the flattering title of soul of the republic, and jewel of the empire. It was also considered the very first refinement in the luxury of those days, to possess a villa or estate on this smiling region.*

The climate is soft and salubrious: and the seasons follow each other in the gentlest succession; in autumn the heats are excessive, but generally tempered by northerly winds. There are very few diseases peculiar to Barbary; it has not been visited by the plague for a period of twenty-five years, though raging with so much violence in the neighbouring island of Malta, and farther on at Gibralter. It is far from being indigenous to this country, and no greater proof could be adduced of its extreme salubrity, than that of having escaped epidemic disorders for so long a time, without the many and often ineffectual precautions adopted for their prevention in more civilized countries. What, therefore, might not be expected in Barbary, if only a little care was taken, to avoid the introduction of disease?

This immense coast, extending from the Atlantic ocean to Alexandria in Egypt, more than two thousand miles, and from north to south nearly five hundred in some parts, comprehends the ancient Mauritania, Numidia and Lybia; the country of the Massili, Getuli, and Garamantes. All these states, which attained a flourishing condition under independent governments, were successively conquered by the Roman arms, and continued to share the various fortunes of the empire until the reign of Valentinian III. A. D. 428. when Count Boniface, disgusted by

* What a striking and melancholy contrast to the above, is exhibited by the following extract, representing the state of Africa after the invasion of the Vandals: "Many of the most flourishing and populous cities with which it was filled, were so entirely ruined, that no vestiges remained to point out where they were situated. That fertile territory which sustained the Roman empire, still lies in a great measure uncultivated; and that province which Victor Vitensis in his barbarous Latin called *speciositas totius terræ florentis*, is now the retreat of banditti."—*Robertson's Charles V.* Vol. I. p. 240.—*Ed.*

21273

the intrigues of the court and ingratitude of his master, became a traitor; and calling in the aid of the Vandals, who had already desolated a great part of Europe, the arms of those cruel fanatics soon triumphed over the degenerate descendants of Rome. Contemporary authors have left us a detailed account of the disasters which marked the progress of this dreadful invasion. They found a country well cultivated, the ornament of earth and of nature. There was no part of this fine region that could escape the rage of its barbarous conquerors: the vines were pulled up by the roots, trees cut down, and houses destroyed. In order that the unfortunate inhabitants should have no means of existing in the country, they obliged the prisoners to declare where treasures were concealed, and the number of discoveries made in this way only seemed to increase their avidity for more. Not only were all the public edifices and temples razed, but whole cities left without a single inhabitant. It is related, that when any strong places refused to surrender, the invaders would collect an immense number of prisoners under the walls, and having put them all to the sword, left the bodies above ground to infect the atmosphere, and thus gain, by this shocking stratagem, what their arms could not effect.*

The Emperor Justinian having strengthened his own government by wise laws and liberal institutions, wishing to revive the splendor of the throne by reconquering the finest provinces of the empire, lost through the imbecility of his predecessors, selected the great Belisarius, who entered Africa at the head of a large army. Finding the Vandals weakened by internal divisions, and enervated by sloth, he experienced very little difficulty in subduing their chief, Gelimer.

Several victories were followed by the triumphant entry of Belisarius into Carthage; and for a time, at least, this fine country was

* In noticing the exterminating effects of the wars which desolated Africa, from the arrival of the Vandals until the expedition of Belisarius, Procopius, a contemporary historian observes: "Africa was so entirely dispeopled, that you might travel several days in it without meeting one man; and it is no exaggeration to say, that in the course of the war which ensued on the arrival of Belisarius, five millions of human souls perished."—*Ed.*

destined to be governed by its old masters; but as Robertson justly observes, great men can form and mature an infant people, but they cannot restore the vigour of youth to old and corrupted nations.* The empire, enfeebled by its prodigality, and torn with internal discord, was fast hurrying towards its ruin, and being no longer able to make its authority respected, or prevent foreign encroachments, Africa, which had suffered a century from the extortions of Greek prefects, fell under the dominion of the caliphs, whose new religion enabled them with its usual auxiliary, the sword, to extend their empire from the banks of the Tigris to the western extremity of this great continent. An open country, without fortresses or troops to defend it, was not likely to oppose any very formidable resistance to the victorious successors of Mahomet. In the course of time, the new conquerors who continued to possess Barbary, detached them-

* This profound remark of the Scottish historian, has been enlarged upon by Chateaubriand, in a passage of his Itineraire. Its ingenious turn of thought, and depth of reflection, have seldom been exceeded by this charming writer. As it includes a well merited tribute of applause to the persecuted Belisarius, whose singularly heroic character is greatly enhanced by the comparatively dark age in which he lived, and as the truly great cannot be too frequently held up for example, I hope to be excused for giving the original. " Bélisaire au reste étoit digne de ces succès. C'étoit un de ces hommes qui paroissent de loin à loin dans les jours du vice. Pour interrompre le droit de prescription contre la vertu. Malheureusement ces nobles ames qui brillant au milieu de la bassesse, ne produisent aucune révolution. Elles ne sont point liées aux affaires humaines de leur temps; étrangères et isolées dans le present, elles ne peuvent avoir aucune influence sur l'avenir. Le monde roule sur elles, sans les entrainer; mais aussi elles ne peuvent arrêter le monde. Pour qui les ames d'une haute nature soient utiles à la société, il faut qu'elles naissent chez un peuple qui conserve le gout de l'ordre, de la religion et des mœurs, et dont le génie et le caractére soient en rapport avec sa position morale et politique. Dans le siécle de Belisaire, les événemens étoient grands et les hommes petits. C'est pourquoi les annales de ce siécle, bien que remplies de catastrophes tragiques, nous revoltent et nous fatiguent. Nous ne cherchons point, dans l'histoire, les révolutions qui maitrisent et écrasent les hommes, mais les hommes qui commandent aux révolutions, et qui soient plus puissans que la fortune. L'universe bouleversé par les Barbares ne nous inspire que de l'horreur et du mépris; nous sommes éternellement et justement occupés d'une petite querelle de Sparte et d'Athénes dans un petit coin de la Gréece."—*Itin.* Vol. II. p. 272.—*Ed.*

selves from the Saracens of the East, creating an emir, who was from that time considered as entirely independent of the caliphs, and other Mahometan rulers.

The present territory of Algiers was the MAURITANIA, TINGITANA, or CÆSARIENSIS of the Romans. The names of Jugurtha, and Massanissa, are familiar to all the readers of Roman history; and Juba, its last king, bravely, according to the philosophy of that day, put an end to his own existence on losing the battle of Thapsus, fought against Julius Cæsar; whose enemies he joined in the African war, which ended by the conqueror of Pharsalia declaring Mauritania a Roman colony. It was afterwards, during the reign of Claudius, divided into two provinces, the Tingitana, and Cæsariensis, from the celebrated city of Julia Cæsaria, noticed by Dr. Shaw, and other writers.

Referring to that part of its modern history, out of which the piratical system has sprung, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to state, that the Saracen chief Eutemi, who styled himself king of Algiers in the beginning of the sixteenth century, alarmed at the progress of the Spanish army, during the administration of the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes, which had already become masters of Oran, called in to his assistance two famous pirates, Horuc and Hayradin, the terror of whose names, at the above period, extended from the Dardanelles to the Straits of Gibralter. The infamy of their depredations, united with talents of no common cast, gave rise to a belief, that their views had a much greater scope than mere piracy: this was amply proved in the end. The ambitious Horuc came to Algiers with five thousand men, where he was received as a liberator; but he soon after caused the credulous Eutemi to be secretly assassinated, and immediately after made himself master of the city. This was followed by driving the Spaniards out of Barbary, the conquest of Tremesan and several other states: nor did much time elapse, before his fleets, more like those of a great monarch than a petty chief, began to infest the coasts of Italy and Spain. Wearied

with a reign which excluded all repose, some of his subjects applied for succour to the king of Spain, who made a very spirited attempt to liberate them and European commerce from so great a tyrant; but unfortunately, the elements favoured Horuc, and baffled the scheme for that time.

The Spaniards were, however, more successful on a future occasion, when Comares, governor of Oran, having united his forces with those of the dethroned sherif of Tremesan, completely routed the army of Barbarossa; who, being overtaken in his flight, met the punishment due to his crimes. His brother Hayradin succeeded him with the same share of talent and ambition. The fame of this man's actions made so great a noise, that Solyman, emperor of the Turks, offered him the command of his fleet, as the only person who was capable of opposing the celebrated Andrea Doria. Hayradin, also surnamed Barbarossa, soon after his accession to power, took possession of Tunis by stratagem. Driven thence by the victorious arms of Charles the Fifth,* he fled to Bona, and embarking there for Constantinople, terminated his piratical career some years after in the Turkish capital.

In an age so favourable to the success of upstart adventurers, Barbary was not long without falling a prey to the rapacity of a new chief: this was found in the person of Dragut Rais, who had for some time exercised the profitable pursuit of piracy all over the Mediterranean; and though, at first, only secretly encouraged by the Porte, he was, in the end, openly assisted with the co-operation of Sinan Bashaw, in expelling the knights of Malta from Tripoli, in 1551. The success of this enterprize was soon followed by the complete re-establishment of the Porte's influence as far as Morocco, which has never acknowledged its sovereignty.

For many years after, the three regencies of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, were supplied with governors, and a proportion of troops from Constantinople. In progress of time, however, several flagrant

* For an account of that celebrated expedition, the reader is referred to Robertson's History of Charles V.—*Ed.*

abuses were found, to arise from this mode of sending chiefs; and when, upon any occasion, they became too intolerable at Algiers, the janizaries sent deputations to Constantinople, for the double purpose of complaint, and solicitation to have another appointed in their place. When once the complaints of the soldiery were listened to, the future chiefs named by the Porte, were little more than ambassadors; till, at length, in one of those commotions so frequent at Algiers, the Ottoman Pasha was quietly put on board a ship, the captain of which received directions for him to be landed at Constantinople. Since that time, all the power of election has remained in the hands of the Janizaries.

The original stipulation with these chiefs, of acknowledging the Grand Seignor as their sovereign, and paying him a yearly tribute, it is hardly necessary to add, has long since become a dead letter, except when these marauders have found it convenient to obtain the countenance and support of their nominal master; and then a well-timed present has seldom been thrown away upon the *disinterested* despot of Turkey.

A late writer, after detailing the principal events which have led to the nefarious and unlawful establishments of these execrable governments, concludes by the following very just observation: "thus, Barbary, after experiencing the most extraordinary revolutions; and after holding, at different periods, a very conspicuous place in the political world, has degenerated into a permanent receptacle for licensed piracy; for though the Barbary powers have assumed to themselves, all the consequence of independent sovereignties, and are honored with the presence of accredited ministers from some of the most distinguished states in Europe; yet, from their total disregard of those laws which other nations have held sacred and inviolable, and from their unwarrantable system of exacting tribute as the terms of their forbearance; collectively, they still are to be considered in no better light, than as a nation of free-booters, which the jealousy, or mis-

taken policy of more powerful states have hitherto prevented them from destroying."*

The history of the Barbary states, however varied by events, exhibiting an almost unexampled series of invasions, conquests, and atrocities, does not, as many have very properly observed, possess either the interest or importance excited by that of more civilized nations; where noble sentiments are seen combined with feelings of honorable ambition. The history of this country furnishes instances of ardent passions, criminal designs, and dreadful crimes; but we look in vain for those enlarged views, heroic actions, and glorious results, which can alone render the study of history either useful or agreeable.

The regency of Algiers includes above six hundred miles of sea coast, between the river Melooia, which separates it from Morocco, and the Zaine, its eastern boundary; while its extreme breadth, from the capital to the country of Dates, does not exceed one hundred and eighty.† It is bounded on the west by the kingdom of Fez, the chain of the Atlas and Biludelgerid on the south, Tunis on the east, and the Mediterranean sea on the north.

The Dey's absolute domination extends four days journey from the capital. Beyond that, until you reach the Biludelgerid, is inhabited by wandering tribes, who merely pay tribute when the army takes its annual tour through the country.

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* Historical Memoirs of Barbary, 1816.

† Dr. Shaw, whose book derives a great portion of its value from the circumstance of no other traveller's having ever minutely described the same ground, or perhaps gone over it, only allows four hundred and sixty miles length to the territory of Algiers; and in this he has been followed by several other writers. Yet by the reader's referring to the map, he will immediately perceive the extent of this error, there being between the Melooia and Zaine, no less than eleven degrees of longitude, making in all six hundred and forty-nine miles. I confess, it would be absurd for any person, in our present ignorance of this part of Africa, and total want of an accurate survey of the coast, to bring forward geographical descriptions, which there are no certain means of substantiating.—*Ed.*

The regency is divided into four provinces, Mascara, Algiers, Titterie, and Constantina. Labez is a mountainous district which pays tribute; and Biscara is another poor tributary country in the kingdom of Zeb. Between Algiers and Bugia to the south, are the mountains of Couco, inhabited by the Azagui, a ferocious people whom the Deys have never reduced into complete subjection. Towards Fez is the little desert of Angad, much frequented by beasts of prey and ostriches. Previous to reaching the lesser Atlas there is a large tract of country called Tell, from thence commences the country of Dates.

The most considerable river in this part of Africa is the Melooia, the ancient Malva, a part of which is navigable for small vessels. Besides this there are several minor streams west of the capital, of which the Shellif and Hamiman are the most conspicuous; while its eastern side is profusely watered by the Yisser, Boberack, Zowah, Seibouse, and Zaine. A place, called the Seventy Sources, rising in the Atlas towards the Desert of Angad, is spoken of as one of the greatest curiosities to be found on the whole territory of Algiers. The country abounds in springs, and besides the range of the great Atlas which runs through the Algerine states from east to west, there are several other mountains, such as Gibbel Auress, Mons Aurasia of the ancients, the mountains of Trara, forming its western confines towards Tremecen, and Mas-Affran, the Jugura, Gibbel Deera, &c.

The principal cities are Algiers, containing about one hundred and twenty thousand souls; Constantina, with a population of one hundred thousand; Tremisan, once the capital of a great kingdom, but now reduced to insignificance; Bona, which has an excellent bay and strong castle; Oran, a large and populous town with a tolerably good roadstead, and within a few miles east of which there is a fine bay capable of receiving the largest fleets. Tenez, at one time the capital of a rich and beautiful kingdom; Boujeiah, which is very strong, and possesses a much larger port than Algiers, though not quite so secure; Mersalquivir, a place of some consequence; and Shershell, where there is also good anchorage; Arzew,

celebrated for its extensive salt pits, the finest in the world; El-callah, renowned for its great market and manufactures of shawls and carpets; Bleeda, a populous town in the interior; and also Gigeri on the sea coast: the territory of which is extremely mountainous, and the inhabitants considered the most savage and ferocious race in Barbary. All those christians who happen to be wrecked on this coast, are invariably made slaves of. There are various other large towns and populous districts in this fine country, many of which have scarcely been visited by any European traveller. It is hoped, however, that the time is not far distant, when we shall have something more than garbled information and uncertain conjectures to gratify our curiosity about so interesting a quarter of the world. For the present, it is of more importance to enable the reader to form a tolerably correct idea of its manners and customs.

Travelling in the interior is attended with many difficulties, owing to there being no bridges; and as to roads, they would clash with the policy of the government, by facilitating the progress of an enemy, and opening a trading intercourse between the people; which, strange paradox! it is the interest of the Dey to suppress.

Notwithstanding the amazing number of fine cities containing all that was splendid or beautiful in Roman art, which each of the African colonies, and particularly Mauritania, possessed, the exterminating fury of its various invaders have left comparatively a very small part of its monuments standing, to gratify the curiosity of the moderns. The few, however, which remain, amply serve to confirm those ideas we are taught to entertain of their former magnificence, by contemporary historians. The total impossibility of exploring this country while in the hands of its present inhabitants, renders it probable that we shall yet see many years pass away, before any adequate notion can be formed of the extent of those treasures which it no doubt contains. Until the happy period of opening the mine arrives, it is the province of travellers to point out where the hidden treasures are concealed.

Of medals an infinite variety are continually found in the

Algerine provincos: those of Punic and Carthaginian origin, are distinguished by great beauty of design and uncommon spirit in the figures. Who has not admired the celebrated head of Ceres, vulgarly supposed to be that of Dido, also peculiar to the coins of Syracuse? The horse on its reverse is in general equally spirited with the head. Those medals bearing a lion, with a Punic inscription underneath, which has hitherto baffled the most learned antiquaries, is with reason supposed to be anterior to the former, but in point of correct drawing and exact imitation of nature, nothing can exceed their execution. Great quantities of cameos, bronzes, and imperial coins are continually found, and if not destroyed by the superstitious zeal of the Arabs, are brought into Algiers, and sold to the different consuls. How truly gratifying it would be to the whole European public, were it in the power of any tourist to explore this part of Africa, and ascertain what there is remaining of *Lambese*,* *Thubana*, *Cartera*, and *Rusicada*, of which Pliny gives so high an idea, also of *Sana-Municipium*, so celebrated in the age of Augustus. The ancient Tusca is now called Zaine, after the river on whose banks it is built. *Tipasa* is at present known by the name of *Tlassul*, and both are mere

* Dr. Shaw thinks he discovered the remains of this great city some leagues eastward of Constantina, in the Tezzoute or Erba of the Moors. Of this part of Algiers he gives the following interesting description: "The mountains of Auress, to the southward of Constantina, are a knot of eminences running into one another, with several little plains and vallies between them. Both the higher and the lower parts are generally extremely fertile, and are esteemed the garden of the kingdom: they are about a hundred and thirty miles in circuit, and all over them are spread a number of ruins; the most remarkable of which are those of *L'Erba*, the *Lambese* of the ancients. These ruins are nearly *three leagues* in circumference; and amongst others, consist of magnificent remains of several of the city gates: these, according to a tradition of the Arabs, were four in number, and the city could send forty thousand armed men out of each. There are still also to be seen the seats and upper part of an amphitheatre; the frontispiece of a beautiful temple of the Ionic order dedicated to Esculapius; a small but elegant mausoleum erected in the form of a dome, supported by Corinthian columns; and a large oblong chamber, with a great gate on each side, intended, perhaps, for a triumphal arch. These, and several other edifices of the like nature, sufficiently shew the importance of this city in former times."—*Ed.*

villages. There are some remains of *Siga*, and of *Pontus Divini*, mentioned by Strabo. At Dugga are seen vast ruins, amongst the rest a temple of marble, supposed to have been dedicated to the apotheosis of Trajan. The small city of *Andalouse*, founded by the Moors who were driven out of Spain, is still in existence; shewing the fondness which even these people had for keeping up the remembrance of their lost country. At *Shershell* is supposed to be seen the remains of *Julia Cæsaria*, the ruins consist of large cisterns, mosaic pavements, columns, &c. *Arzew* is the *Arsenaria* of antiquity. But the most interesting spot in this country, is *Cirta*, now *Constantina*, and once the capital of Massanissa, one of the most beautiful situations in all Africa, and full of the finest remains.* At *Medraschem* is seen a stupendous fabric, supposed to be the tomb of Syphax and other Numidian kings. In this ruin the Arabs fancy that great treasures are buried; but being guarded by the black spirits, they cannot get possession of them. There are also very extensive ruins on the mountains of *Conco Labez*, but these are supposed to be of Arabic origin. The whole country in fact, exhibits innumerable traces of what it was in better times; and contrasted with its present degraded situation only serves to heighten our regret, at the lamentable change in its destiny.

Algiers, which many have confounded with *Cæsaria*, is now generally supposed to be the *Jomnium* of antiquity, the former having had a fine port, which could not exist at Algiers in those days: as the most accurate observations prove it to have been an island called *Al Guisars*, which the Arabs joined to the main, giving it the addi-

* Poiret, a French traveller, who visited the Algerine territory in 1789, has the following remark on this city: "Nous entrâmes ensuite dans le province de Gigiri, qui n'offre rien de remarquable; il n'en est pas de meme de Constantina capitale de la province du meme nom. Cette ville offre partout aux curieux des precieux restes de son ancienne magnificence. On ne peut se promener au milieu de ses colonnes renversées, de ses temples detruit sans éprouver un sentiment douloureux qui nous porte à pleurer sur le rivage de temps et les miseres humaines."—*Ed.*

tional appellation of *Gezir bene Mozana*, from the family who founded the city. By the Moors and Turks it is styled *Al jelzir Alguzie*, Algiers, the warlike.

The position of this place is remarkably strong, and it is defended by several very formidable batteries: that of the Round Castle is bomb proof; those of *Rabal Baker*, which defend the port, are built with great solidity, and even elegantly formed. The castle of *Sit Alcolett* has also great command over the water. The Star Battery, and that of the Emperor, are chiefly useful against a besieging enemy by land. A deep ditch surrounds the city walls, the lower parts of which are in many places composed of marble. The *Casserbach*, and Castle of *Alcasabar*, in the city, are both very fine fortifications, and have generally large garrisons. There are usually four or five thousand men to work the guns in case of sudden assault; but nothing can exceed their ignorance of artillery and bad management of cannon. It should be observed, that a land force would have many advantages over a maritime one in the attack of Algiers, owing to the positions afforded by the surrounding hills, many of which command the town and its works.

This city, with its white-washed houses, rising in amphitheatric order one above another, affords the inhabitants a fine prospect of the sea, and, as already observed, is extremely beautiful as you approach it by water. The charm dissolves, however, most effectually on entering the town, where there is nothing to excite admiration. The streets are so excessively narrow, that in some, two persons can scarcely walk abreast each other. This strange style of building is thought to arise from its affording a better shade, and more protection in case of earthquakes; by one of which Algiers suffered considerably in 1717. From the streets being concave and rising on each side, the greatest inconvenience arises to men and animals in passing through them; for when a Moor passes on horseback, you are obliged to get close up by the houses to prevent being trampled under foot.* When M. de la Con-

* Paris, "*la plus belle ville du monde!*" is in many places, as far as relates to foot

damine first saw the fine pavement which ornaments the sides of every street in London, he exclaimed, "O happy country! where even those who go on foot are thought of." There are no shops in Algiers worth looking at. The rain water is received into cisterns, and there is a large fountain or reservoir, whose water is conveyed by an aqueduct, and thence profusely distributed all over the city in conduits made for the purpose.

There are nine great mosques, and fifty smaller ones in Algiers; three public schools, with several bazars and market places. Its finest public buildings are those of the five Casserias, which serve as barracks for the soldiery; there are also five lock up houses for the slaves, near which is a market for their sale!

The Pascialick, or Dey's palace, has two great courts, which are surrounded with spacious galleries, supported by two rows of marble columns: its interior ornaments chiefly consist of mirrors, clocks, and carpets. There are several taverns in the city kept by Christian slaves; and these are often frequented even by the Turks and Moors. There is, however, no convenience for sleeping; so that those who enter Algiers from the country, are obliged to lodge at the house of some friend. European merchants visiting this place, hire apartments in the houses of Jews.

The level country round the town on its land side extends about four leagues, when it becomes mountainous. The immediate vicinity of Algiers is supposed to contain no less than twenty thousand vineyards and gardens; while the beauty of its environs is by no means inferior to those of Richmond, Chantilly, or Fiesole;* but its effect is destroyed

passengers, very little better than the African city. And notwithstanding the very liberal remarks and imaginary witticisms of its bombastic editors about the smoke of London, I doubt after all if it is not somewhat less intolerable than a Parisian *pavè*.—*Ed.*

* A lofty eminence within three miles of Florence, and which should be visited by all those who are desirous of enjoying one of the most enchanting prospects in Italy. The town, which does not at present contain much more than a thousand inhabitants, was formerly a large capital; but lost its importance on the foundation of Florence, to which its inhabitants were transferred. Its Etruscan wall and amphitheatre are still particularly well worthy of antiquarian research and observation.—*Ed.*

when we reflect on the people into whose possession so fine a country has fallen. The landscape is truly delightful, if only seen in a passing and rapid glance: but when the eye rests on it, the barrenness and aridity of many spots are disclosed, shewing the contempt of its barbarous inhabitants for agriculture and cultivation, the place of which they supply, by dedicating themselves to war and plunder.

From the foregoing chapter, intended to give some idea of the history and geographical position of this country, the reader's curiosity is naturally led to a consideration of its various productions.

CHAPTER VI.

Fossils, Minerals, and other natural Productions of BARBARY.—*Trees and Vegetables.—The Lotus and Palm Tree.—Domsetic Animals.—The Barb, Camel, and Dromedary.—Wild Animals.—Birds, Reptiles, Scorpions, and Locusts.*

IT is a singular fact, in the natural history of Barbary, that its surface exhibits less appearance of violent changes, than most other parts of the globe. Nor have the encroachments of the sea been by any means so conspicuous on this continent, as that of Europe. The northern shore of Africa is generally about the same height from the level of the sea, as Spain and Italy.

Hitherto iron and lead are the principal metals which have been discovered: the former, which is the most common, is strongly impregnated with clay, to which it gives a dark yellow tinge, the sandy particles turning black. Many have asserted, that the great Atlas abounds in gold; but as yet, this is mere theory. It being once proposed to the Bey of Tunis, to open mines there, he very philosophically replied, that gold and silver had caused the ruin of America; that, having no use for those metals, where was the necessity of searching for them? This moral lesson concluded, by his highness observing, that it is much better to leave the precious metals in the bowels of the earth, where nature had intentionally concealed them! Thus, unexpectedly corroborating the opinion of Horace,

Aurum irrepertum, et sic melius situm
Cum terra cælat, spernere fortior,

Quàm cogere humanos in usus
Omne sacrum rapiente dextra.*

Various marbles, jasper, and porphyry, are also found here, though not in great quantities; vermilion is more abundant, being found at a place called Zekker.† There is also, in this neighbourhood, a small, but very transparent crystal called *Salenites;* and the surrounding country abounds in a soapy earth, which is used in the baths to give whiteness to the skin. Towards the range of the Atlas, the mountain soil is calcareous; on the southern side it partakes more of quartz; the sand varies, from being white and fine, to dark and ferruginous. Minerals and hot springs are very numerous. Besides those of *Haman* near Bona, described by several travellers, the enchanted baths of which Shaw gives so interesting an account, are the greatest curiosities of the kind any where to be seen: these springs rise a few leagues eastward of Constantina, in a deep valley; sending forth a dense vapour, almost insufferable to the smell. The chief ingredients in these singular waters, are sulphur and bitumen: they are in a constant state of ebullition, and rushing out of small circular apertures form a crater, curiously incrusted with various calcareous deposits, beautiful stalactites of sulphur, and native vitriol. The water boils so intensely here, as to raise the quicksilver to seventy-seven degrees of Reaumur. Not far from the hot springs there are others of an extremely cold temperature: the ground in their immediate vicinity, is so ardent, as to render it scarcely possible to walk over it: and murmuring sounds are

* Let her the golden mine despise;
For deep in earth it better lies,
Than when by hands profane, from nature's store,
To human use compell'd, flames forth the sacred ore.—CARMEN III.
FRANCIS.

† Mr. Murray has furnished a very valuable chapter on the natural history of this continent, acknowledged to be from the pen of Mr. Jameson, the very enlightened and scientific professor of natural history at Edinburgh. See Chap. III. of Travels and Discoveries in Africa.—*Ed.*

constantly heard to issue from beneath, so as to give quite a supernatural effect to the scene. These sources are much frequented by the Moors, and are said to possess great virtues in all rheumatic affections. There are some Roman ruins close to them, supposed to have been built for the convenience of visitors in former days.

The banks of several rivers are covered with particles of salt and nitre: the former substance predominates to such a degree in the Algerine territory, that, besides the various sources of salt water, and mountains composed of it, there are many *shibbas*, signifying fields covered with salt. These, in the winter, are full of water, and look like lakes, but when dry, they assume all the appearance of water-meadows, covered with the finest verdure: some have a hard thick bottom, without any mixture of earth or sand; and this is formed by a stratum of crystallized gravel. The salt collected at Arzew is as clear as rock crystal.

One of the finest and most useful commercial productions of this coast, is coral; of which immense quantities are procured between La Cala and Bona. This most singular production comes from its prolific bed in three different forms: it is a group of living polypi when first drawn up; and is seen charged with clusters of little round berries, and a viscous humour, which seems to issue from the top of the branches, where they form white drops, which some naturalists have thought to be the flower of coral: but they are, in reality, living animals, who exist in the hollow cells situated along the internal part of the branches. The second form converts it into the superb tree, which soon becomes a hard mineral substance. The polypi die, but their death is not a petrifaction, it is a species of ossification. Coral is, properly speaking, neither a stone, plant, nor mineral, but rather a metamorphosis of innumerable polypi: it is like an extensive genealogical tree, where the great polypus is covered with its numerous posterity, the son becomes the tomb of the father; and the whole sharing one common fate, only change their existence, for a state of more permanence and solidity: thus furnishing rather an apt emblem of

those prudent sons of earth, who plod along the frigid career of life, only intent upon accumulating the means of future repose.

A happy combination of warmth and humidity, gives a great degree both of vigour and magnificence, to the vegetable productions of Barbary. Although the lower class subsist principally on barley, yet wheat and Indian corn is extremely abundant. There is also a species of chick-peas, which is roasted in a pan, and thus forms an important article of consumption amongst the people. The prickly pear abounds all over this country, and what it wants in picturesque beauty, is made up by its utility; for while the tree forms an impenetrable hedge, the fruit is excessively nutritive and wholesome. Vines grow to a prodigious height, and passing naturally from one tree to another, form beautiful arbours: their size is equally remarkable, being sometimes as large at the root, as a tolerably proportioned olive tree. The latter is also a very favourite production of northern Africa; and besides the immense quantities of trees, wild and cultivated, the Algerine territory produces a small thorny tree, which bears a fruit equal in size and flavour to the large olive of Spain. Their pomegranates are at least three times larger than those of Italy, and the pumpkins grow to an enormous magnitude. In addition to all those fruits common to Europe, the oranges and figs of this country are of the most exquisite flavour; the chesnut tree does not grow to a very large size in Barbary, but the nut though small is very sweet. The oaks are in some places, particularly on the sea coast, of an immense size, and extremely lofty: of these the *quercus ballota* of naturalists also abounds, its acorn being very nourishing to several animals, and not unlike the wild chesnut. This important tree, so well known in Spain, would also be a great acquisition to Italy, into which it has not hitherto been introduced. Amongst different species of the cypress, there is one seen in the vicinity of Algiers, remarkable for its unusual loftiness, and pyramidical form; the almond and mulberry tree are also found in great abundance. The *indigo fera glauca*, yields a valuable dye; and there is a highly esteemed medicinal plant found

in this part of Africa, vulgarly called *cineraria,* which is considered by the natives as a sovereign remedy in several diseases. Another herb, the *xenna,* furnishes the inhabitants with the celebrated juice with which their nails are tinged. Amongst botanical plants is the *scilla marittima,* the *bulbosa radicata,* and dwarf palm, which yields an exceedingly small date; also the *saccharum celindricum* and *agrostis pungens.* In the more arid vallies are to be found the *reseda odorata, erica arborea,* and superb *cactus;* all of which afford excellent pasture for lambs, while they perfume the air with grateful odours; also the laurel rose, which cheers and vivifies the country, when all other flowers are dried up by autumnal heat. The hills are covered with thyme and rosemary, which at once purify the atmosphere, and supply in many places the deficiencies of fuel; the traveller's sight is also continually regaled with extensive tracts thickly planted with roses of every hue, for the distillation of the famous essence or otto of roses so well known in Europe. This fine climate has at all times been highly favorable to the culture of sugar cane; that of *Soliman,* being considered the largest and most prolific of any in the world. Indeed this plant is thought by many to be indigenous to Barbary, from whence, together with Sicily, it was originally supplied, to the West India islands.

But the most celebrated tree in Africa is the lotus, equally renowned by poets and naturalists. Pliny called it the ornamental tree of Africa. Its Arabic denomination is *Seedra.* It is the grand symbol of eastern mythology, and tree of many virtues! The Brahmins of the Ganges relate that Brahma was born in the hallowed bosom of the lotus; and Visnou, emblem of the conservative principle, is represented with a lotus branch of the aquatic species; indicating that every thing has sprung from the ocean.* It has a considerable resemblance to the jujube, but its fruit is smaller, containing more substance, and of a round form: its colour is that of saffron

* M. Pluche, the author of a most learned and entertaining book *L' Histoire du Ciel,* published above seventy years ago at Amsterdam, but very little known in this country,

growing and becoming ripe on the tree like myrtle berries. The negroes call it *Tomberong*, making a kind of bread out of the farinaceous part of the fruit, by exposing it in the air for some days: and, when perfectly dry, pounding it in a mortar, the cruder particles are then separated from the meal, and these, when mixed with water, make a cooling and agreeable beverage. By adding a little flour, and boiling it, this draught may be converted into a very savoury and substantial hasty pudding. The lotus is also eaten in its natural state as we do plumbs; and it is not improbable, but that it used formerly to be distilled into spirit. Pliny says, that it gave a name to one of the provinces, the inhabitants of which, made the lotus their principal food: hence the famous Lotophagi, who inhabited the vicinity of the *Syrtis Magna*, now on the coast of Tripoly, between Bengazi and Cape Mesurata. Historians add, that strangers were so well received by these people, that, after having partaken for any time of the lotus, they forget their country, and were no longer willing to abandon this hospitable shore. The companions of Ulysses absolutely refused to follow their master, who conducted them amongst the Lotophagi, and persisted in remaining with their new friends. The case is, however, sadly altered in the present day: when, so far from feeling any inclination to remain in Africa, those who go there, particularly as I did, are glad enough to get away as soon as they can.

The palm tree, another singular production of this continent, and frequently met with in Algiers, possesses a much greater share of bark than solid wood, yet it is extremely tough and difficult to break. It requires thirty years to bring this tree to maturity; after which they continue to bear for sixty, annually yielding from fifteen to twenty bunches of dates, weighing as many pounds: these grow beneath the

gives an interesting illustration of the uses to which the Lotus was applied by the early people of Egypt; and in another part of his work observes: "Le Lotus est une espéce le nymphea qui vient abondamment au bord du Nil, et qui outre les secours que les Egyptiens tiroient de son fruit, dont ils faisoient du pain, donne aussi une belle fleur qui s'épanouit le matin, et se ferme le soir."—*Ed.*

leaves, which are all attached to the trunk, and grow directly out of it towards the top. When the fruit is taken down, it is enclosed in skins, by which its flavour is better preserved, and ripening greatly facilitated. While on the tree, the dates have a yellow tint, which, when ripe, changes to a reddish hue: when gathered, they are as sour as cyder apples, and it is some time before they acquire sweetness. The greatest number of palms in the Algerine territory, are found on a range of hills towards the Atlas, called *Jibbel Karkan;* but the finest dates, though not so large as the produce of this quarter, are those which grow in sandy soils, particularly the Biledulgerid.

The various and important uses of this tree have already been described by travellers; and when we consider the quantity of fruit and lackby it yields, together with its ultimate application of being converted into rafters for houses, its general utility does not fall very short of the lotus. The date tree often grows to the height of eighty and ninety feet; and nothing can be more curious, in the way of climbing, than to witness the facility with which the negroes ascend, without having any place whatever on the branchless trunk to set their feet: the ascent is effected by means of a rope fastened to the body, and then passed round the tree. In this state the climber supports himself with the left arm, until the rope is slipped up by the right hand, when, by pulling it tight, he is enabled successively to change his position till the top is gained. I have omitted to observe, that the palm also yields a rich syrup like honey, which is generally served up as a great luxury, in all the Moorish feasts, given by the higher orders: this syrup, if kept many days, ferments, and becomes very good lackby. In some places, the fibrous bark of the tree is spun into cord for rope, and thread to make sails: while the leaves are transformed into fans, parasols, work-baskets, and various other ornaments.

In opposition to the general nature of plants, which do not prosper in the spot on which similar ones have perished, the palm springs up with increased vigour on the ashes of its predecessor. This curious fact is by the Italian traveller Mariti, supposed to have furnished

eastern mythologists with the marvellous regeneration of the phœnix; that term meaning palm tree, both in the Hebrew and Phœnician dialects.

Next to the cocoa nut of India, and bread fruit of the Friendly Islands, the palm tree is justly considered as that which renders most service to humanity: enlivening the horrid surface of the desert, it shields the pilgrim from the scorching rays of a perpendicular sun; and feeds and refreshes the traveller who wanders through the dreary solitudes. Independently of the nutritious liquid produced by this celebrated tree, which may be converted into wine, spirit, or a cooling beverage, its fruit has often sustained caravans, which, without its friendly aid, might have perished in the pathless waste.

The palm is also the emblem of glory, triumph, and the heroic virtues. The eloquent author of the Harmonies of Nature, has also called it the tree of the sun, *l'arbre par excellence*. Like the gnomen of that great luminary, its leaves mark the days; while years are represented by the circles in its trunk. It is, of all other trees, the most graceful: like the Egyptian symbol of immortality, tapering towards the top until its majestic front spreads before the face of Heaven. Ulysses, wishing to explain the secret charm which he felt on being near the beautiful queen of Ogygia, compared it to the lively transport he experienced at Delos, on seeing the wonderful palm suddenly spring up near the temple of the gods.

This extraordinary tree also makes a conspicuous figure in the loves of the plants; having afforded a fertile source of ingenious imagery and versification to Dr. Darwin. The sexes are clearly distinct; the masculine transferring the fruit and its flavour to the female plant: when the husk containing the seeds and flowers of the fruit, begin to open, a bunch is taken from the masculine and scattered over it. The impetuous winds of the north unite the lofty cedars of Lebanon, and the trembling zephyrs of morn refresh the fragrant rose of Jerico. But the desolating blasts of Africa destroy all that comes within their noxious influence. It is therefore necessary

that art and the fostering care of man, should preside over the chaste intercourse of the prolific palm.

Of domestic animals, there is no scarcity in Barbary: the cows are smaller than those of Europe, and owing to the want of pasture land, do not give much milk, which generally ceases with the loss of their calf. Of goats there is a great variety, and some of the breeds are unequalled by any others in the world; their colour seldom varies from pure white, which accounts for the dress of the Bedouins; while, from a contrary reason, that of the Spanish peasantry is composed of dark brown. One of these species is remarkable for a long tail: the fat is said to be excellent for frying or making pastry. There is another race, which are as high as a good sized deer, to which they bear some resemblance, except in the hair, which grows long like other goats. The tender mercies of the Mahometan religion, regards it as an impiety to mutilate these animals, while it is daily practised with perfect indifference on human beings! The asses of Barbary are fully equal to those of Egypt, or the Marches of Ancona: these faithful and persecuted animals supply the place of landaus and *fiacres* to the natives: their sonorous voices discover the vicinity of the Arabs at night. Their flesh is held in the highest estimation by the Moors, who are as fond of a young *suckling* as even Caius Alnius Mecænas was in the days of Roman gastronomy. It is not to be wondered at, that with such horses and asses, the Barbary mule should be unequalled: they are more esteemed than the former, on account of their sure foot, and carrying a much heavier load. Their resistance to fatigue, and regular pace, also gives the mule great superiority in this country; their long step is acquired by having their legs extended and kept tied up in that position for some minutes. Dogs are hated by the Moors: this accounts for the very flattering appellation bestowed so liberally on Christians. Cats, on the other hand, are great favourites, and as beautiful as those of Angola. United to their natural inclination for this animal, grave and drowsy like themselves, there is a certain religious veneration, created by the

recollection of the prophet's tenderness for a cat, which he once found sleeping in the sleeve of his mantle; which, rather than disturb her, he cut off with his sabre, and with the cloak thus mutilated, went to offer up his prayers at the sacred shrine.

The horses of Barbary would be fully equal in beauty and symmetry to those of Arabia, if attended to by the Moors with the same care, and like the Arab of the desert, they made a friend of this noble animal, and placed their chief pride in his superiority of condition; but it is impossible to become attached to, or sufficiently careful of them under a despotism like that of Algiers, where no man is sure of keeping what he possesses. The horses employed in the Pasha's service, are suffered to remain for whole days saddled, with their feet bound, exposed to the heat of the sun, and head hanging down, which is only raised to cast an ineffectual look on their indolent masters. They are also generally broke in too soon; and this, in a mountainous country, has the effect of bringing them down long before the usual time: their constant exposure to thirst is another great cause of suffering to the Moorish horses. With all these inconveniences, the Barbary horse is extremely active, laborious, and patient of fatigue: full of fire and vigour, he often retains his powers to the age of thirty;—he is usually nimble, meagre, and long backed, with uncommonly slight limbs: he is not, however, by any means quick in cavalry evolutions. Admirably well calculated by his natural impetuosity for the charge, he is stubborn when attempted to be trained in the various movements of European horsemen; the barb's mouth is so hard, as to require a much stronger bit than that used in Europe; the bridle is long, having also a whip at the end of it. They are frequently exercised to gallop, with the reins thrown loosely over the neck; and one of the greatest merits of the horseman is to stop them suddenly when at full speed. During these equestrian sports, it is common to see the Turkish horseman rush up towards a house, wall, or tree, and when close to it stop short; this is sometimes practised towards friends by the way of a pleasant joke; into the spirit of which,

these gallant gentlemen never could persuade me to enter, though several attempts were made for that purpose. This practice is of course very injurious to the horses, and I have seen many of the cavaliers measure their length, and like the heroes of the Iliad, bite the dust, in these awkward attempts to display their agility. The African horse never walks or trots, his pace being a constant gallop while in motion: hence the name of Barb is given to race horses. Many celebrated English horses, than which there are no finer in the universe, except perhaps, those of Nubia, have been bred from the barbs. The horses of Barbary are admirably calculated for perpetuating the breed, but are fitter to produce horses for the course than general work. The mares are generally preferred by the Moors. Besides their being lighter, their not neighing prevents the rider from being so easily discovered; and, on this account, are more convenient for a sudden attack or nocturnal enterprize.

The wild, or desert horse, is lean, ugly, and ill made; yet his velocity often equals that of a stag: he is taken with great difficulty, and for this purpose a snare is generally used. Brought to Morocco or Algiers, he becomes fat, and of course looks better, but soon dies: his life is in the freedom of the desert. This is probably the mule of Tartary, of which some naturalists have given an account. There is very little water given to horses in the hot seasons; camel's milk is frequently supplied, and of this they are remarkably fond, it agreeing with them extremely well. The mutilation of this princely animal is unknown, and inadmissible amongst the Mahometans: they say it diminishes their strength and courage, and of this they seem quite sure; they are also of opinion that it makes them ungrateful and vicious: this may also be the case. A lady complaining of a singer, exclaimed: "What an ungrateful man! it was my uncle who made a musician of him, and he has passed through the town, without ever calling to ask how he was!"

But of all the animals peculiar to Africa, the camel, which they emphatically call the ship of the desert, is by far the greatest gift

Providence has bestowed on its inhabitants, either for the ordinary necessities of life, or enabling them to traverse their immense regions of sand. It is in the desert, that our respect for this animal is redoubled; he is so highly venerated by the people, that they wash themselves with the foam which issues from his mouth, and with much more reason than the Gentoos, who are besmeared with cow-dung: they style him *Hagi Baba*, Father of Pilgrims, referring to the honor he has of carrying the presents of the Grand Seignor to Mecca. Mahomet also permitted his entry into Paradise, as a reward for the services which his species had rendered the prophet.

The camel carries an immense weight, and often receives a whole family on his back: it gives its milk, flesh, skin, and hair; to feed, clothe, and afford a covering to the wandering tribes. At night, it shelters the weary traveller stretched along the sand, watches over his slumbers, and like the faithful dog, averts him of the enemy's approach. His instinct enables him to smell the distant water; he recognises the spot with wonderful precision: he is the very type of patience, fortitude, and perseverance: charged with a heavy load, constantly travelling over the sand, exposed to hunger, thirst, and the hottest rays of the sun, he suffers the fatigue and pain with incomparable meekness: he lies down on the burning sand, without betraying the least degree of impatience: while at all able to support his load, and continue the journey, he strains every nerve to proceed; he neither flags nor relaxes, until absolutely worn out, when he falls, to rise no more: thus rendering his last breath, on the very spot he ceases to be useful!

The camel is occasionally employed in the plough and other agricultural pursuits, like oxen or horses in Europe; but he is more generally occupied as a beast of burthen. He kneels while the load is placed on his back, and signifies that enough is put on, either by a hiss or shake of the head. He never stumbles or falls. There is no necessity either to beat or direct him: his pace is slow, but he makes

long strides, and continues to march fifteen and sixteen hours following, going about two miles and a half an hour. He finds some difficulty in passing over muddy ground, on which, from the peculiar form of his feet, he is apt to slip. When there are many of these animals travelling together, the drivers beat drums, and attach small bells to the knees of the leading camel; and if it becomes necessary to quicken their pace, the Arabs form a kind of song, which has the immediate effect of cheering up the whole party, and making them redouble their pace. Their load generally extends from a thousand to fifteen hundred weight, but never even a half pound beyond his exact burthen. He can abstain from water four or five days, without relaxing in his progress: satisfied if in that time he is allowed, *en passant*, to pluck up any roots or twigs that may lay in his way. He seems even to like nettles, wormwood, and the most insipid thistles: collecting in a species of sack, which he has under his neck, the barley and small loaves which are given to him on the day of departure, he goes on eating or chewing the cud in his road. The very hump on his back serves for his nourishment, and often in the days of hunger and starvation disappears. Arriving at a well or fountain, nature has wisely provided him with vessels, in which he lays in a stock of water for several days, besides refreshing himself for the time being; and the water thus imbibed has frequently, on the beast's dying, been the cause of preserving the lives of travellers. The natives of Africa esteem camels' flesh more than that of any other animal: to me it appeared tough, but the milk is excellent, and makes as good cheese, as that of Pratalino or Ronta.*

Love alone gives to these animals, and particularly the female, a feeling of rage and violence: at this season they kick and bite, and it is necessary to muffle them; a species of bladder hangs from their mouth, out of which issues a quantity of foam. They often fight,

* Two districts in the Florentine territory famous for cream cheese.—*Ed.*

and their hostility affords as great amusement to the Turks and Moors, as the English derive from cock-fighting.* It is curious to see how they jostle up against each other; and how the vanquished party is followed by the hisses of the bye-standers, while applause crowns the victors, as if Grecian athletæ or Roman gladiators had been exhibiting.

The camel, peculiar to Barbary, and belonging to the species called *demel*, is considered much superior to that of Asia. The dromedary, of which there are very few kept in Algiers, though merely a variation of the same race, are much more elegantly formed than the camel,

* Having in a former note taken occasion to express my opinion of that unmanly illiberality and rooted antipathy constantly manifested towards England, by a large party in France; but more particularly its impotent scribblers, newspaper editors, &c. I have too much patriotism, not to acquiesce in the justice of many errors and abuses, which are proper subjects of animadversion amongst our neighbours. And the national character could not appear more exalted, than in a dignified endeavour to profit by the wholesome advice of our adversaries. As, according to a celebrated maxim of a Latin poet, we are justified in deriving instruction, even from an enemy; it is with a feeling of this kind, I shall anxiously look forward to the discontinuance of many barbarous customs, which only wait the fiat of legislative wisdom to be for ever banished from our shores, as they have already been from the mistaken admiration of a large majority of the people. Much too, as the sycophantic author of *Six Mois à Londres*, and that still more pitiful calumniator M. Pillet has taught me to despise him, I am nevertheless induced most seriously to recommend the former's sneering observations on the Gothic pastime alluded to by Mr. Pananti; bull-baiting, pugilism, the monopoly of brewers, mode of puffing, lotteries, and their general tendency to strike at the very root of public morals, &c. All of these subjects are most intimately connected with our best interests, and particularly worthy the maturest consideration of the legislature. Without denying the impossibility of removing evils that are purely the offspring of circumstances, which all the wisdom of government could neither foresee nor prevent, or indulging in visionary schemes of moral and political perfection, I humbly presume that in the whole catalogue of human reasoning, there is not a more legitimate or fairer subject of discussion, than the removal of evils which would at once add amazingly to the popularity of men in power, and stability of the government, while its effects on human happiness must be absolutely incalculable. When, therefore, the principle of expediency loses somewhat of its present influence, let us hope that legislation will assume its proper place in society, and be rather in advance of, than behind, what the French so emphatically denominate *l'esprit du siècle.—Ed.*

bearing about the same proportion to it, that a greyhound does to the house dog. They have a ring fixed to the upper lip, and a cord fastened to this, serves for guide and bridle. The velocity of this animal, even after every allowance is made for the marvellous stories of the Arabs, is almost incredible; and their figurative mode of giving you an idea of its celerity in travelling over the desert, has often been noticed. They say, "when you meet a hierie, and say to the rider salem alik, before he can answer alik salum, he will be nearly out of sight." Mr. Jackson, an intelligent English traveller, observes, in speaking of this wonderful animal, "a journey of thirty-five days caravan travelling will be performed by a Sebayee in five days: they go from Timbuctoo to Morocco in seven days. One of these animals once came from Fort St. Joseph, on the Senegal river, to the house of Messrs. Cabane and Depras, at Mogador, in seven days." The person employed to conduct the desert camel, as he is called by the natives, is obliged to be tightly bound up, to keep his head closely covered, and sit on the animal sideways, in order to prevent the effects of the atmosphere on his face; and in this posture he is enabled to traverse the solitary waste of sand, almost with the rapidity of an arrow.

The manner in which the camel is formed, and which makes it capable of resisting the difficulties of travelling in Africa, is no less admirable than its various other qualities. The elevated position of his head prevents the suffocating effects of those volumes of sand, which, though generally in motion, passes along the desert under the camel's body; he also keeps his eyes half shut, and they are besides defended with thick eye-lids and long eye-lashes. The soles of his feet are remarkably broad, and made like little cushions, producing a very trifling impression on the vaccillating surface; his fatigue is also considerably diminished by advancing two common paces of the horse at a time: so that while all other animals find the greatest difficulty in going over the sands of the desert, it seems the camel's native element.

Amongst the wild beasts of Barbary, none is more common than

the boar; but this animal frequently falls a victim to the stronger beasts of prey, particularly the lion, whose mode of seizing it is blended with a wonderful degree of instinct: when discovered in its retreat, the lion immediately turns up a circular mound all round the spot, leaving a small aperture near which it crouches down in ambuscade. When the effluvia proceeding from the lion, becomes sufficiently strong to indicate its being close at hand, the boar crawls towards the opening, and suddenly rushes out; when by a single bound, the ferocious enemy is on its back, and instant destruction follows. Thus it is with the beasts of the field: the strongest, not satisfied with its natural superiority, must have recourse to cunning, in order to destroy the weak and feeble! The wild boar of this country differs from that of Italy, by having the head larger, and two long tusks inclining upwards from the jaw, which appear like additional ears. Porcupines are found in great numbers. Hares are few and of a diminutive size; and scarcely any rabbits are to be seen. Game of almost every kind is abundant. The *bukker el vash*, whose horns are much shorter than those of the common ox, the body plump and head more elevated, is probably the *buphalus* of antiquity. There is also a goat called *lerwe*, of so timid a nature, that if pursued, it will dash itself down the nearest precipice: this is the *fugephalus* of the ancients. There are large flocks of the antelope running wild; but they are easily domesticated, and are much liked by the Arabs for their gentleness and docility. These beautiful little animals generally inhabit the borders of the desert, where their facilities of escape are considerably increased; but beasts of prey usually follow their footsteps: neither its innocence or speed is sufficient to secure the antelope's liberty; and even the dreary desert cannot afford an asylum against tyranny.

Amongst the most curious quadrupeds of Barbary, is the *gat el hallah*, with the ears of a rat; the lower part of the skin white, and all the upper part a bright yellow. They also mentioned another animal, which is said to have the head and horns of an ox on the body of an ass. I did not, however, see this non-descript; and those

who said they had, were probably taken in by the knowing ones. In a certain country there was once exhibited a zebra, which in reality was only an ass, covered with a skin of the former animal: however, a professor of natural history, who went to see it, stoutly maintained that it was neither more nor less than a real zebra. Upon this judicious opinion, an ingenious copy of verses were composed, each couplet terminating with the following burden: *Le professeur a dit que c'étoit une zebre, c'étoit une âne!*

There are no tigers in Barbary: those which people take for that animal are panthers. Towards the Atlas are found ferocious brown bears. The lions chiefly frequent large woods and forests: the jackall, nearly as large as the wolf, an incessant prey to hunger, goes about the villages in flocks with terrific howling, frequently opening graves in search of carcases to devour; the hyæna, on the contrary, is always alone, sallying forth in darkness and silence, to make war on the habitations of men, and on animals: following the caravans, or other parties of travellers, with eager eyes, he waits the moment of assault. These animals have also a peculiar instinct in smelling the newly buried at a great distance, which they take an early opportunity of tearing from their earthly mansion; satiating themselves on the half putrified corpse. Strange! that there should be an animal which delights to feast on the infection of the tomb! Hyenas are also endowed with the instinct of associating together in sufficient numbers, to kill the most formidable animal; upon which they feed, and afterwards, drag it into the recesses of the woods and caves which they inhabit.

Both the caravans and wandering Arabs are obliged, while travelling, to be constantly on their guard against the various beasts of prey which follow their courses: particularly during their halts at night, when the encampment must not only be formed on the best principles of defence, but fires lighted all round: and even these precautions are sometimes found insufficient to deter the famished wolf, or greedy jackall. The lion is, however, by far the most terrific

adversary met with by the caravans: his approach is announced by a deep murmuring, which increases until it sounds like thunder; thus petrifying the animals with fear: and while in this state, not unfrequently does the sovereign of the forest rush upon his victim, and get clear off in the general confusion, before a single ball has reached him. There are regular lion hunters in several parts of Barbary, who, notwithstanding its offensive smell and excessive hardness, live on the flesh, from which even dogs will turn with disgust. There are two modes of killing the lion: one is by tying a cow or other tame animal to a tree, and watching near it concealed till it attracts the lion, when several shots are fired, and he falls; they do not, however, go up to the spot for some time after, lest the wound should not be mortal: they also form large fosses, which being covered with slight bushes and grass, lets the lion fall in directly he treads on them. Upon these occasions, his skin is either put on their horses, and carried along in triumph; or, like another Alcides, one of the party throws it over his shoulders.

The ornithology of Barbary, like the other departments of its natural history, is yet open for the illustration of the curious; and will, on some future day, furnish an ample field for the gratification of science and curiosity. The birds most commonly known at present, include all those peculiar to Italy and the rest of Europe, besides many other species, a few of which are about to be noticed. The quail and starling is found in prodigious numbers, particularly the former, which is sometimes seen to cover a large space in the atmosphere; and as a bird of passage, supplies the opposite shore of the Mediterranean with a great luxury towards the autumn. There are also in this country, at least twenty species of the pigeon: the stork is preserved with the same respect as in Holland. Fowls of the capon kind, are exceedingly abundant. I also observed, while at Algiers, larks of a reddish hue, which are not seen in Italy. The common duck of Barbary, has the head generally white, a red beak and dark body, except the wings, which are often variegated with light coloured spots.

Amongst the rare birds, is the *karabur*, or ash coloured falcon, and crow of the desert, having the beak and legs red like the partridge: this bird is called *graab*, and is of a much larger size than the European crow. The *saharag*, is like our magpie, but having a most repulsive note. The *houbarry*, whose gall is considered as a sovereign remedy for diseases of the eye, is also remarkable for its cunning mode of evading the sparrow-hawk. The *capsa*, a sparrow larger than ours, with a shining breast, and ruddy coat like the lark. The melody of this bird's note far surpasses that of our nightingale or linnet; but when placed in a cage it loses all its harmony.

The Desert of Angad abounds with ostriches, which are seen in large flocks. At a distance they look like troops of Bedouins, often creating alarm in travellers. At the beginning of winter the large, or as it is called camel-ostrich, sheds its finest feathers, which are diligently collected by the Arabs. This is the only bird of the feathered tribe whose foot is composed of two claws, in which it also resembles the camel, as well as in the mode of carrying its head. The coat looks more like a skin than otherwise, while its wings seem given to support an equilibrium, which without them, must be, from his unwieldy size, constantly endangered. In fact, this extraordinary bird appears to have hitherto puzzled the acutest naturalists in their systematic divisions of the feathered race. One mode of hunting the ostrich, is by forcing whole flocks to run against the wind, until their strength fails, when in attempting to return they are shot by a party of thirty or forty hunters employed for that purpose. It is said to be very ludicrous and amusing.*

* A traveller in speaking of this singular bird, observes, "When the ostrich runs, it has a proud and haughty look; and even when in extreme distress, never appears in great haste, especially if the wind is with it. Its wings are frequently of material use in aiding its escape, for when the wind blows in the direction that it is pursuing, it always flaps them: in this case the swiftest horse cannot overtake it; but if the weather be hot, and there is no wind, or if it has by any accident lost a wing, the difficulty of outrunning it is not so great."—*Ed.*

This country, owing to its uncultivated and thinly inhabited state, naturally abounds in reptiles of various kinds, many of which are venomous. It was probably a serpent of the *boa* species, which is said to have impeded the army of Regulus, and required its warlike machinery to destroy it. Amongst a great variety of insects, none is more annoying than the fly of Barbary: a swarm of them has been often known to sting a horse until it has fallen under the loss of blood occasioned by their repeated attacks. But the most dangerous reptile of this country is the scorpion, of which there are various kinds, differing in colour, from black and brown, to yellow and white, like that of the Brazils. They are much larger than those seen in Italy; and their poison is so powerful, that many persons die annually from its effects. Their sting, although excessively painful, is not, however, mortal in the months of July, August, or September. They are also more dangerous in towns than the country. From the facility with which this reptile introduces itself into houses, and even beds, the inhabitants are obliged to be very cautious in detaching the latter together with their curtains from the walls. There are persons, who like the Psylli of old, have some method of charming the scorpion, by which it becomes perfectly harmless for the time.

The natives frequently amuse themselves by a curious kind of warfare, which is created by shutting up a scorpion and a rat together in a close cage, when a terrible contest ensues. I have seen this continue sometimes for above an hour: it generally ends by the death of the scorpion; but in a little time after the rat begins to swell, and in violent convulsions, soon shares the fate of his vanquished enemy. It is also a favourite diversion with the Moors, to surround one of these reptiles with a circle of straw, to which fire is applied; after making several attempts to pass the flames, it turns on itself, and thus becomes its own executioner.*

The most destructive part of the insect tribe, and which is justly

* This very singular fact is finely alluded to by Lord Byron, in his Giaour.—*Ed.*

considered as the greatest scourge in Africa, remains to be noticed: this is the locust: it is much larger than the horse-fly of Italy; some have the wings marked with brown spots, while the body is of a bright yellow. They are dry and vigorous, like other insects inhabiting the desert. What is called the red skipper of this tribe, does by far the most injury to vegetation. They generally begin to appear early in May, spreading themselves over the plains and vallies to deposit their eggs: which, in another month, sends forth the young, when they immediately associate in prodigious numbers, often forming a compact phalanx, which covers several acres of ground. In this order they continue a direct course, and with amazing rapidity consume every particle of fruit, vegetables, and corn that may lie in their way: thus destroying all the hopes of the husbandman and farmer. On these occasions the whole population of the district through which the insect army passes, is occupied in devising the best means of getting rid of such unprofitable visitors: for this purpose, ditches are dug and filled with water; at other times recourse is had to large bonfires; but all is to no purpose with these devastators, whose chiefs seem to direct them with the precision of regular troops, constantly stimulating them to the *pas de charge*, and from their unremitted progress, appear as if they were continually repeating *en avant!* Without ever stopping or turning aside, they rush with impetuosity into the flames until they are fairly extinguished by their numbers. They also fill the ditches: and when these obstacles are removed, the rear advance over their bodies, rendering it impossible for any part of those before to retreat, if ever so well inclined: they are thus left no alternative between death and victory: the living passing with perfect indifference over the suffocated bodies of their companions, the journey is pursued without any intermission. Two or three days after the first passage, other bodies, equally large, and prompted by the same destructive intrepidity, follow in their steps: devouring the bark and branches of those very trees which their predecessors had already stript of leaves and fruit. "For they covered the face of the

whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left; and there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field through all the land of Egypt." Exodus, ch. x. 15.

Having continued this predatory warfare for nearly a month, and laid waste the whole country, they reach their natural growth: this is the signal for their undergoing a partial metamorphosis, by changing their coat; an operation which is effected by fixing themselves on bushes or rocks, and it does not require more than ten minutes before they are enabled to appear in their new dress; laying for a short interval after this, in a state of languor, the heat of the sun soon gives fresh vigour to their wings, by removing the humidity, and they are once more restored to their original activity. Taking a higher flight, their numbers darken the air, while the sound of their wings is heard for several miles. The unchangeable steadiness with which this singular tribe act in concert during their irruption, seems to imply a regular direction, rather than its being the mere effect of instinct.

Whenever a country is condemned to the above terrible visitation, nothing can exceed the alarm created amongst the inhabitants; and with good reason, for woe to the district over which they pass! All is destroyed in little more than the space of an hour: they do not suffer even a leaf or blade of grass to remain; destroying every appearance of vegetation. During their short stay, they have all the inquietude and instability of hunger: wild as the country they inhabit, it is impossible for any one to get near them. Often, while following their dilatory course, they push on too far, and are precipitated into the sea; at other times, a sudden north wind destroys them by millions, when the country is immediately covered for many miles by their putrid bodies, which is frequently the source of pestilential diseases. They have also, upon more than one occasion, when highly favoured by the weather, found their way to the coasts of France, Spain, and Italy.

If the Moors were less indolent, or less blinded by superstition, much might be done towards the total destruction of these voracious insects, when their eggs are first laid; but, in addition to their favourite doctrine of predestination, which accelerates many a serious calamity, the Arabs and negroes firmly believe in the existence of a bird called the *samarmog*, which destroys the locust, as storks do serpents and other reptiles: with this fabulous notion, the boys who happen to take up one in their hand, cry out *samarmog*; and on its trembling, or making any effort to escape, they immediately fancy it must proceed from hearing the name of their implacable enemy pronounced. It is also related, that the Arabs go to Korazan, the country of the samarmog, and bringing a pitcher of water back to their own dwellings it attracts the bird, who is thus induced to come and make war on the locusts.

Whenever any district is attacked, as already observed, the whole population unites in every possible effort to dislodge the enemy; but seeing the inutility of these efforts, they not only cease any longer to torment themselves at the disappointment, but very wisely endeavour to turn their misfortune into a source of some advantage: this is effected by beating the bushes and trees on which the locusts settle, and on their falling off, putting them into sacks prepared for the purpose: they are then boiled, and after being dried on the terrace, are considered as very good eating. I have tasted some that were fried in a pan, and broiled; they are by no means unpalatable, and something like sprats, though not very wholesome: the natives seem to swallow them with a particular zest. This insect is, I believe, the acrides of the ancients; and, according to some historians, ministered to the wants of the anchorites in the Thebaid.

CHAPTER VII.

Desert of ANGAD.—*Hardships in crossing the* SAHARA *or Great Desert.—Caravans.—The Simoom.—Various Phenomena attending it.—Columns of Sand.—The Oasis.—Temple of Ammon.—Consolations in the Desert.—*MOUNT ATLAS.---*Country South of it, &c.*

ALTHOUGH the Desert of Angad, which is principally situated on the Algerine territory, is not to be compared to that of Lybia or the Great Sahara; yet, possessing the same character, though on so small a scale, it serves to give some idea of the large ones, which impress such peculiar features on the whole face of this interesting country.

These immense deserts, which are supposed to occupy nearly half the surface of this vast continent, have been justly called oceans of sand: they, too, have their gulphs, bays, and islands; and are sometimes agitated by an undulating motion so as nearly to approach the same effect on water. Here also, as at sea, are encountered the tornado and tempest, while the first appearance of caravans are like ships seen on the horizon. Hordes of predatory Arabs scour the interminable space, as pirates do the ocean: weeks and months are passed on them, during which stars are the traveller's guide; and, as on the still more unconfined element, the eyes are often anxiously directed towards the destined port, with longing expectation. The vehemence of a burning wind which prevails on these vast plains, raising volumes of sand, which leave frightful chasms and, vortexes below, has such a striking resemblance to the sea, that its common epithet among the Africans is, *El bahar billa maa,* the sea without water.

On these dreary wastes, no trace of vegetation or culture is to be seen: here it is in vain for the traveller to expect shade from the vertical sun; no bird is there to cheer by its note the solemn stillness of the desert. The light, as observed by the great Buffon, is here more gloomy than the darkness of night; it only enables you to see the void that surrounds you, and immensity of space which separates you from a habitable country. If at night you wander from the caravan to breathe a little air, your own sighs are all that disturb the death-like silence of the desert: the traveller is obliged to lie down in the open air, and often without covering; uncertain whether the following day is not ushered in with an illness which may lead to his being abandoned by his companions. It is sometimes necessary to abstain from sleep for thirty hours together, to avoid the dangers which threaten you; and during all that time, pursue the harassing march. It is a luxury, when crossing the desert, to imbibe the dews of night; and when it rains, to spread your garments for the purpose of receiving the salutary drops. Arriving at a small reservoir, or a solitary well, the words "drink and depart!" salute the eye, as a warning that banditti may be lying in wait near the spot. Hillocks of sand are thrown up on one day to answer as a direction for the following, but a whirlwind has dispersed them, and the caravan is thus frequently turned out of its course: the stars, too, are often so obscured by clouds, that there is no possibility of seeing them.

Another source of painful anxiety:—the disconsolate traveller arrives at a well, nearly suffocated with sand and thirst, but he finds it dry! He hears the famished beasts of prey, interrupt the horrid silence, while meditating on the frightful length of his remaining journey, and difficulty of reaching the end of it. His mind is terrified with the apprehension of dying by heat, hunger, thirst, and debility; or of being devoured by the monsters who prowl about these dreadful solitudes. Man is, as it were, lost in this empty and unlimited waste, in which he only beholds one vast sepulchre.

The most dreadful stories are related of the innumerable perils

and disasters to which those who travel over the African deserts, are exposed. In the time of Leo Africanus, there was a public monument which commemorated the deplorable end of two people: one a conductor of camels, and the other a merchant; who paid the former ten thousand drachms of gold for his last cup of water, after which both perished!

Notwithstanding the facility of joining a caravan, that has also its inconveniences: unable to make any delay, the slow and enfeebled are not considered: if taken ill, you are abandoned, and a strayed companion is never looked after.

Let any one figure to himself, says M. Denon, in his Travels through Egypt, the fate of an unfortunate being, panting with fatigue and hunger, all his limbs swelled, the throat parched up, who respires with difficulty the burning atmosphere which consumes him; he hopes that a few moments of repose may revive his drooping frame; he stops, and sees the companions of his journey pass on, after having solicited their assistance in vain.—Personal calamity has shut every heart:—without once turning back, and with eyes fixed on the ground, each follows in silence the footsteps of him who goes before; all have passed, and are nearly out of sight; the exhausted traveller attempts to follow, but his limbs fail him; neither the perils nor terrors of his situation are sufficient to rouse him into activity. The caravan is gone: he now only sees it as a moving speck on the horizon; at length it vanishes! The unhappy man casts his eyes around; what do they encounter?

A wild expanse of lifeless sand and sky!

They are then turned upon himself: he closes them to shut out the dreary void which surrounds him; he only hears his own sighs; all that he has of existence belongs to death. Alone, isolated in the world, he is about to yield his last breath, without a single ray of hope to cheer the dying hour; and his corse, consumed by the ardent surface, will soon only leave the whitened bones to serve as a guide

to the uncertain steps of future travellers, who tempt the melancholy way, and have dared to encounter the same perils!

That which some people emphatically style the horrible wind of the desert, is another of those phenomena, peculiar to the climate of Africa, which is justly calculated to annoy and alarm the most resolute traveller. This wind, which is known as the scirocco in the Mediterranean, is called *samiel*, by the inhabitants of Syria, *kasmin* in Egypt, and *simoom* by the people of Africa. It generally continues three days; but has on some occasions been known to last from seven to twenty-one: commencing usually about one o'clock, it blows in sudden gusts, and moderates towards sun-set.

The burning vapour is mostly preceded by a red meteor, which extends a considerable way over the horizon. The natives are prepared for its coming by a strong smell of bitumen, which proceeds from the red cloud: this increases gradually in magnitude, until it bursts on the affrighted inhabitants, who on the first setting in of this dreadful wind, cry out, "Lay down close to the ground, behold the simoom!" On those occasions it is necessary to keep the mouth closed for some minutes, and if possible apply a handkerchief steeped in vinegar to the nose; to avoid imbibing the first effects of the pestiferous blast, which often suffocates in the absence of those necessary precautions, or gives rise to a perpetual asthma, in those who indulge the fatal curiosity of contemplating that terrible phenomenon. Nature has taught animals to guard against it, by keeping their heads close to the ground, when it first comes on. Those who have suffered least from fatigue, are best able to meet the simoom: it frequently occurs that while this wind continues, several of a caravan lose all signs of animation, remaining in that state, until artificial means are employed for the purpose of bringing the sufferers back to life. When this wind begins, the upper part of the atmosphere assumes a bright yellow hue, while the lower is of a deep red. This effect is created by the rays of the sun penetrating an excessively fine sand, which soon insinuates itself into all the apertures of your clothes, finding its way into

the eyes, mouth, and ears, in large quantities. The air also becomes so obscured by the sand, that it is impossible to see three yards before you; while the dry heat of the simoom, inflames the blood, irritates the nerves, and oppresses the lungs, rendering respiration exceedingly painful.

The heat of those days during which the simoom continues, is beyond all expression or belief; it is like passing before a strongly heated oven. When the heart has burst, to use the expression of the Africans, the blood rapidly issues from the eyes, ears, and nostrils; some hours after the body turns black, and the limbs lose their elasticity. This is the wind called corruption in the sacred writings; and poison by the Arabs. The orientals, in their emphatical and figurative mode of speaking, when desirous of painting a violent and rapid conqueror in his exterminating course, compares him to the burning wind of the desert!

Often while the simoom continues, immense columns of sand are seen to elevate themselves at different distances in the desert. Sometimes they ascend to such a height as to be lost in air; at others, they separate and cover the atmosphere with their fiery particles, or a dark mist; at times they assume the appearance of a thick wood, whose lofty branches are agitated to and fro by the winds; and on other occasions look like globes of smoke. Among the other eccentric forms of this curious phenomenon, it has often been compared to the column of a great army scouring along the plain, sometimes hurrying on to the charge, and at others wheeling into line. Frequently after their first formation, they burst with an explosion like that of cannon, or the distant thunder. They are sometimes of a deep black, and at others assume the hues of the rainbow; and when invested with the sun's rays, they appear studded with innumerable brilliant stars.

It has repeatedly happened that whole tribes, and numerous caravans have been buried under the red and agitated sand, which possesses all the undulating fury of the sea, when roused by the tempest. This was the case in 1805, when several thousand men and animals

were totally destroyed between Fez and Mecca. It has repeatedly occurred, that out of several hundred travellers, who unite for mutual support to cross the desert, not one is able to escape; and their whitened bones remain strewed about the sand, striking terror into those who come after, and are threatened with a similar fate.

Immense solitudini d'arena,
Le quai, come austro suol le onde marine,
Mesce il turbo spirante, onde a gran pena
Ritrova il pellegren riparo e scampo
Nelle tempeste dell' instabil campo!

The weary pilgrims who are destined to traverse these vast solitudes, are obliged to find a passage over sands that constantly yield under the feet; which, in addition to its other horrors, renders it infinitely more irksome than any other species of travelling. Where nothing is seen but one boundless field of sand, without a single tree, or the smallest appearance of verdure, not even a cave to shelter in from the burning luminary; the traveller, like those who undertake a voyage on the ocean, looks forward to the sight of land, with the same trembling anxiety: it is therefore easy to conceive with what joy and consolation, a place of comfort and repose is discovered in these dreary wastes. Fortunately, such places exist, and are found in the desert: to these the exhausted caravans have recourse, and put in for refreshment, as a navigator does when worn out with the hardships of his voyage. The people of Africa call these spots "the islands of the sandy sea, or of verdure:" another appellation, that of *Ouah*, meaning a habitation in the desert, is given to them by the wandering Arabs; while the European epithet *Oasis*, according to the learned M. Langlet, is derived from an Arabic word, signifying repose and consolation. A favourite theme with the poets and historians of antiquity, they have also been frequently alluded to by the moderns, who have represented them in all the fascinations of enchantment, on which are found fairy palaces decorated with a thousand brilliant illusions and flowered grottos, whence, in the silence of night, are heard to proceed sounds of celestial harmony.

It appears, that the ancients only knew two of these interesting spots, the Great and Little Oasis; the Thebaid, which is still traversed by the Abyssinian merchants on their return from Cairo, and the smaller one of an oval form, the present kingdom of Fezzan and Darfûr. The first of these, which is said to be two hundred miles in length, and whose capital is Murzouk, is probably the ancient Garamantes, which a passage of Virgil places at the extremity of the earth. There are many others besides the above scattered about in various parts of the great desert: and their number has led some authors to compare Africa to a leopard's skin. In the Algerine territory, and within its little Desert of Angad, there is a small one, so remarkable for the luxuriancy of its verdure, and richness of vegetation, that the Moors call it *Quesiret el sug*, or the flowery island; and the poets of this country have often celebrated it under the name of the beautiful garden of roses.

Upon one of the above spots, is supposed to have been discovered the ruins of the Temple of Ammon. The approach to this celebrated place, was in ancient times attended with innumerable perils, as proved by the failure of repeated attempts to penetrate as far as the temple; particularly the case of Cambyses, whose army was entirely destroyed in crossing the desert. Quintus Curtius relates all the horrors to which the Macedonian warrior and his army were exposed in their visit to this wonderful spot. Entering the desert, they continued their march over that solitary waste for several days, oppressed with heat, thirst, and hunger; when all of a sudden the renowned site of the temple burst upon their longing eyes. What surprize and consolation must not the Grecian soldiery have found in these naked solitudes? Forests impenetrable to the rays of the sun, rivulets of the purest water, and a delightful temperature that enabled the fortunate inhabitants to gather, throughout the year, all the flowers of spring and fruits of autumn! The people of this singular region were called Ammonians, and lived in cottages, which were scattered about in various parts of the Oasis, under the cooling shade of its orange and citron groves.

Amongst its other objects of admiration, two of the most distinguished was the temple, and palace of the kings: there was also another sacred dwelling, appropriated for the virgins and children who officiated in the various ceremonies of the shrine. The Fountain of the Sun, whose water was tepid in the morning, cold at mid-day, hot towards the evening, and boiling at mid-night; had its source in a wood, which was also dedicated to the divinity. The statue before which adorations were performed, was composed of emeralds and other precious stones, and had the form of a goat: whenever the oracle was consulted; and in order to render the god more favourable, this sacred emblem, placed in a golden boat, was carried in procession, at which the matrons and virgins attended, chaunting a hymn of praise and supplication.

Although the Temple of Ammon has ceased to be an oracle, there is little doubt of the spot on which it stood, containing the most precious remains of Egyptian antiquity in the world; which, if any means existed of pursuing researches, would very probably throw considerable light on the great question of decyphering the hieroglyphics, as well as the other branches of knowledge which distinguished that extraordinary people above the rest of the ancient world. It is known that they received preceptors from Ammon, who taught those mysterious doctrines which contributed so much to the veneration and celebrity of the priests of Memphis in after times.*

* Although Mr. Murray, the ingenious editor of Dr. Leyden's excellent compilation, seems satisfied that the ruins of this celebrated spot were discovered both by Horneman and Browne, it is extremely difficult to reconcile the slender vestiges seen by these travellers, with the splendid descriptions handed down by ancient authors: the reader is, however, left to judge for himself on the passage relating to this subject, which is as follows:—"Siwah is particularly remarkable for a monument of antiquity, situated a few miles to the westward. This, which by the natives is called Ummebeda, consists of a large mass of ruins in such a state of dilapidation, as to make it difficult to discover the original purpose for which the structure was destined. There are evident remains of an exterior wall of great strength, and about three hundred yards in circumference. In the centre are found the ruins of what appears to have been the principal edifice. It is about

In an age so distinguished for enquiry and research as the present, it is to be hoped that no obstacles, however multiplied or formidable, will impede the laudable efforts already begun for the purpose of exploring unknown regions; amongst which, Africa is certainly far from being the least interesting. It must be matter of deep regret to the community at large, that Mr. Browne, whose perseverance and contempt of danger, seem to have peculiarly fitted him for so arduous a pursuit, did not experience a better reception at Darfûr. If properly supported by the sultan of that barbarous country, there is little doubt but that the great question would have been long since decided: as it is, this enterprizing traveller's exertions, while they prove the possibility of penetrating into Africa through Lybia, justly place him in the envied rank of Park, Horneman, Leydiard, and many others, who merit the applauses of posterity, for their highly meritorious labours to enlarge the sphere of human knowledge, and make us acquainted with countries of which the public

twenty-seven feet in height, twenty-four in width, and ten or twelve paces in length. The walls are six feet thick, and constructed, particularly in the roof, of very large blocks of stone, cemented with small stones and lime. The interior of the walls is decorated with hieroglyphics, and appear to have been partly painted. From the whole description, compared with that of Browne, and with the ancient writers, there seems very little doubt that this is the celebrated shrine of Jupiter Ammon, the object of unbounded veneration in the ancient world. The vicinity of the fertile Oasis of Siwah, and the catacombs found in the neighbouring mountains, strongly tend to support this opinion."—*Discoveries and Travels in Africa*, Vol. I. p. 422.

That Mr. Browne, whose caution in not deciding too hastily on doubtful subjects, cannot be sufficiently admired, believed there is yet much to excite the curiosity of travellers in this part of Africa, is evident from the following passage extracted from the second chapter of his Travels.—"Since the above was written, it has been communicated to me, that Siwa is the Sirossum mentioned by Ptolemy; and that the building described was probably coeval with the Temple of Jupiter Ammon, and a dependency thereon. The discovery of that celebrated fane, therefore, yet remains to reward the toil of the adventurous, or to baffle the research of the inquisitive. It may still survive the lapse of ages, yet remain unknown to the Arabs, who traverse the wide expanse of the desert; but such a circumstance is scarcely probable: it may be completely overwhelmed in the sand, but this is hardly within the compass of belief."—*Ed.*

must ever remain ignorant without such men; who are unquestionably amongst the small number of persons entitled to be considered as the real benefactors of mankind.

However terrific and repulsive crossing the sands of Africa may appear by the foregoing observations, the often repeated aphorism, that every situation, no matter how wretched, has its advantages, applies with equal propriety to those who accompany the caravans. "A flower is encountered on the desert, and water rushes from the rock." After the hours of a painful march, with what eyes a verdant pathway or majestic palm-tree, is regarded by the worn out pilgrim! With what transport does he approach a fountain, or collect the wished for drops from Heaven! How gratifying amidst the bare and sterile waste, to behold the camels loaded with refreshing fruits and salutary nutriment, coming to meet the famished wanderers! At night, how delightful to hear the bleating of lambs, and barking of the shepherd's dog; to discover the perpendicular columns of smoke, indicating that an Arab camp, or tent of a hospitable Bedouin is near at hand! How far beyond all other pleasures, is that of arriving at an *oasis!* The travellers united together inspire mutual courage, and regulating their pace with that of the camels, they animate each other with the hopes of a safe arrival and happy return. The Arab who guides, never fails at each halt, to call the faithful together, and divide the contents of his pannier. After several hours of weary marching, you arrive in the cooling airs of the evening, to enjoy the balmy freshness of a lucid firmament; where the night is ushered in with innumerable stars, and the great Author of nature surprizes you with all the splendor of creation. Arriving at the Bedouin's tent, you are welcomed with the hospitality of the Patriarchs: consumed by heat and thirst, exhausted by weariness and fatigue; after traversing a sand, blown about and discomposed by the winds, without finding a place of refreshment or repose; all of a sudden cultivated grounds are discovered, where the travellers are enabled to rest: it can only be compared to returning life. Milk, dates, and honey, are soon supplied

in abundance; coffee is prepared. All this, amidst the privations and poverty of the desert, must be a wonderful scene of luxury and pleasure.

There are several mountainous tracts in Africa: the principal ones consist of the Mountains of the Moon, and Lupato, south of Tombuctoo, the Troglodite, Greater and Lesser Atlas, &c. These are supposed by some naturalists to form almost a continued chain, corresponding in some degree with the back bone of the world, in the opposite continents of North and South America.

As to the Greater Atlas, which belongs more immediately to my present subject, it is the natural boundary between Barbary and the Great Desert; its highest points being situated in Morocco towards the Atlantic, and nearly in a line with the Peak of Teneriffe; while the lesser Atlas extends along the Mediterranean coasts, terminating in the vicinity of Tangiers. Between this proud chain, which rises in progressive majesty, there are numerous intermediate mountains, whose vallies are watered by innumerable streams, and like those of the Pyrenees, give a surprizing luxury of vegetation to this part of Africa; while the gradual melting of the snows, descending in a northern direction, ensures the almost unequalled fertility of Tunis and Algiers.*

The Atlas mountains do not appear so lofty to the eye as they really are, in consequence of not ascending into sharp points, but gradually rising one above another in gentle undulation. The natural quality of these mountains is calcareous, while the more dense material is formed of granite. The western flank rises abruptly, in arid and black masses, from an extensive plain of sand; but the northern declivity is not only gradual, but ornamented with forests and pasture.

* The geological observations contained in Keatinge's Travels, add very much to the value of his work in other respects. Of the above celebrated range, he observes—"The country in the latitude of Fez, westward to the coast, judging by the meandering of the rivers, is nearly a water-level to the foot of Mount Atlas; one of whose limbs is protruded to the Straits, while his main body follows nearly the outline of the Mediterranean coast, to his utmost termination at the falls of the Nile." Vol. II. p. 49.—*Ed.*

Amongst various other trees produced on the summits of the Atlas, the oak grows to an amazing height; while its shady branches are said to shelter a very rich species of sage, spikenard, and several other rare aromatic plants; the cliffs are embellished by the cactus, aloe, and Atlas pistacchio. The pyramidical cypress also abounds; together with a smaller bush producing a delicious berry not unlike the strawberry of Europe.

In viewing this fine range of hills, it is gratifying to contemplate an object of so much veneration with the ancients, and which has given its name to that boundless region covered by the great Atlantic. Ascending their summits, the traveller would call to mind the poetic illustration of these celebrated mountains, which represents the metamorphosis of Atlas into stone, his robust arms transformed into so many lofty pinnacles, while a forest of pine covered his front: constantly encircled with clouds, and beaten by tempests, his shoulders are clothed with a mantle of snow, and rapid torrents issue from his hoary beard, leaving on his back Olympus and the stars. It has been truly observed by Rousseau, that in proportion as we elevate ourselves above the habitations of men, so do the viler passions of our nature remain below; approaching the ethereal regions we imperceptibly contract some portion of their unalterable purity. The voice of Nature is heard with most sublimity in the dashing roar of the cataract, and amidst the gloomy horrors of the precipice.

Præsentiorem et conspicimus Deum
Per invias rupes, fera per juga,
Clivosque præruptos, Sonantes
Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem.*

Mountains have ever been the refuge of the patriotic and high-minded sons of liberty. While blind despotism extends his rod of iron on the plains of Asia, the pride of independence has enabled the

* This quotation is from the pen of Mr. Gray: the ode from which the extract was made, will be found in Mason's edition of his friend's works, Vol. I. p. 275. It seems to have been written in the Album kept by the fathers at the celebrated Chartreuse between Turin and Milan.—*Ed.*

simple and uneducated inhabitant of the neighbouring Alps, to preserve his liberty and virtue. The Mainotes of Epirus, and Montenegrins of Albania, were long enabled to resist the whole power of Turkey; the generous Armenians waged the magnanimous war of liberty on the mountains of their native country; and the rugged summits of Snowden and Plinlimmon have been immortalized by the unconquerable spirit of Owen Glendower, and warlike melody of the bards.

It is cheering to turn our regards from the miserable and degraded people of Barbary, and place them on tribes who inhabit the fastnesses of the Atlas, who live in the midst of plenty, prosperity, and independence. The goddess they worship, gives more frankness to their manners, and expression to their physiognomy. This liberty is defended with the strength of their arm, and fire of patriotism. Retired on their inaccessible mountains, guards are placed and signals established, by which the enemy are discovered at a distance, and thereby time is given for the whole band to take arms and assume the defensive: these people entertain but one fear on earth,—that of serving!

When the armies of tyrants appear, and set fire to the village, they retreat to the high grounds, and then an early opportunity is taken of rushing down like a torrent on the enemy. Often reduced to the greatest extremities, they seem to repeat the words of an ancient Scythian nation to a ferocious conqueror: "if the earth fails to supply the means of existence, she will not refuse a sepulchre!"

South of the Great Atlas commences the Biledulgerid, terminated by the Sahara, or Great Desert. Experience has amply proved this, as by far the most eligible direction of penetrating into Africa, and opening a communication with Tombuctoo, as well as the interior of Soudan. It was by this track that Suetonius Paulinus proceeded, during the domination of Rome; and it is still constantly frequented by all the nations of Barbary: whereas innumerable difficulties have attended every effort to penetrate by the western coast, owing no less to the badness of the climate, arising from its uncultivated state, than the savage nature of the various nations through which a traveller has to

pass; and who are as yet unaccustomed to the advantages of a regular commercial intercourse with Europeans. With respect to the superior facilities afforded by advancing into Africa on the northern side, it should be considered that the adventurer not only commences his journey under the protection of governments which are connected with the nations of Europe by treaty, but can at all times accompany one of the numerous caravans which proceed annually from Morocco: these, although subject to accidents, generally calculate on arriving at the end of their voyage without any material difficulty. Roentgen's melancholy fate, the only European who has attempted to penetrate from this quarter, is by no means a proof of its impracticability.* He very imprudently gave himself up to the guidance of a Mahometan, who was a renegade; and as a less credulous person might have suspected, fell a victim to his treachery. Let us hope, that the success of future attempts will be ensured by greater precautions. It is not too much to assert, that this large portion of the globe, containing at least one hundred and fifty millions of human beings, is well worthy the attention of civilized society: from the little we already know, it is scarcely necessary to say how much geography and natural history, of every kind, would be improved by the farther encouragement of African discoveries; not to mention its still more important results, as accelerating the civilization and perfection of so large a portion of the human species.

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* For an interesting account of this promising young man's fate, see Keatinge's Embassy to Morocco. In speaking of African discovery, the Colonel very properly says, "policy and commerce cry aloud, and both nature and art should be moved, to accomplish the opening the inhospitable coast of this redundant country. But to none does the appeal so forcibly address itself, as to the nation which leads in commercial enterprize. Africa, indeed, seems now the only part of the globe perfectly free for the introduction of adventure and speculation; and it is likely to continue so quite long enough to reward the trouble and risk. The attempts, however, if any take place in this direction, must be made upon a scale very different in every respect from all hitherto done in this way."—Vide *Travels.—Ed.*

CHAPTER VIII.

Different People of BARBARY.—*Blacks.—Jews.—Christians.—Renegadoes.—Turks.—Chiloulis.—Berberi.—Bedouin Arabs.—Their Mode of Living.—Male and Female Costume.—Various Superstitions.—Occupations of the* ARABS.—*Riches.—Marriages.—Characteristic Anecdotes.*

HAVING endeavoured to give some idea of the productions, soil, and climate of Barbary, it is now time to describe the diversity of people by which it is inhabited. These, widely differing in name, quality and figure, are principally composed of Negroes, Turks, Moors, Bedouin Arabs, Chiloulis, Jews, and Christians. Some are indigenous, while others are of foreign origin: of these, many inhabit the towns and plains surrounding them, while others dwell on mountains, or wander irregularly about the desert. Towards the sea-coast the Moors are white, and of an olive tinge near Mount Atlas. In the cities, such as Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly, they are born with an excessively fair complexion; this by constant exposure to an ardent sun, becomes naturally of a brownish cast. It is said that there exists in one of the remote vallies near the Atlas, a race of men lineally descended from the Vandals. They are represented as very fair, with the blue eyes and light hair, which distinguished their northern ancestors. Bruce says he took the trouble of making a perilous excursion to the Mountains of Auress in search of these people, previously noticed by Dr. Shaw, and was even fortunate enough to discover them. Although I cannot corroborate the assertions on this subject, not having seen any of the tribe alluded to, I

was seriously assured of their existence by several Moors during my stay at Algiers. Some pretend that the celebrated Abyssinian traveller has exaggerated his account of these people. But as a professor, who used to surprize his friends by the violence and obstinacy with which he endeavoured to support the most absurd hypothesis, once observed, "You cannot know the pleasure there is in making others believe, that, in which we have no faith ourselves!"*

Nearly all the blacks in this country are in a state of unequivocal slavery. The barbarians are not only pirates on the water, but extend their system of robbing to the land also. While the corsairs scour the sea, parties of licenced banditti are dispatched towards the desert in pursuit of human beings: arriving undiscovered in the peaceful villages at night, they surprize and carry off the inoffensive inhabitants, who are quietly occupied in looking after their flocks and harvest. These depredators are seconded by the descendants of many Moorish families, who fled from Barbary during the reign of the caliphs, and afterwards established themselves in Soudan, and other countries of the interior.

There is also a great number of slaves bought from the *Shafrees*, or Moorish dealers, and the *Slatees*, native merchants, who bring them in large droves to Vergela in the country of the *Beni Mezzaab*. Besides those who die on the road from fatigue and ill usage, it is supposed that there are, at least, twelve thousand annually sold in the different regencies. The march often exceeds a hundred days; and those who survive, are exposed for sale in the bazaars. It really fills

* The following is Dr. Shaw's notice of the above race: "It is remarkable, that the inhabitants of the Mountains of Auress, have a quite different mien and complexion from their neighbours; for they are so far from being swarthy, that they are fair and ruddy; and their hair, which, among the other *Kabyles*, is of a dark colour, is with them of a deep yellow. These circumstances, notwithstanding their being Mahometans, and their speaking only the common language of the *Kabyles*, render it probable that they may be a remnant of the Vandals." Vide Travels, Chap. III. Bruce's account is to be found in the first volume of his travels.—*Ed.*

one with horror to see these wretched creatures perfectly naked, oppressed with all the bitterness of grief, thus reduced to the state of mere beasts of the field. Both men and women are minutely examined with no less indelicacy than atrocity, by their inhuman purchasers. Those who come the greatest distance, are most highly valued, as it diminishes the chance of escape, an important consideration to those who buy them: those destined to remain in Barbary, are employed in the houses of rich Moors, while the remainder are conducted to the markets of Cairo and Egypt. Several Spanish and Portuguese ships have been taken by the English, for persisting in this iniquitous traffic, contrary to the general voice of Europe, and all civilized nations. It has also been reported, that the transports employed to convey the troops under the ferocious Morillo, were afterwards destined to visit the coast of Guinea, for the execrable purpose of loading with slaves for the New World. Spain and Portugal is to the poor blacks, like the terrible land of *Koom*, south of Tombuctoo; where, after being bought, the unhappy slaves are slaughtered and eaten.*

Those negroes whose natural mildness of disposition and good nature, led an English traveller to call them the *Hindoos* of Africa, merit a very different treatment from their fellow creatures. The travellers who have frequented the desolate banks of the Joliba, at a time when Cafirs and strangers experienced the worst reception where Moorish princes governed, were by the negroe tribes in the

* Thanks be to God, the cause of religion and humanity has just experienced another signal triumph, in the abolition of this impious traffic by Spain, on consideration of receiving a large sum from England. Although there are people who may disapprove of our paying the deluded cabinet of Madrid, for yielding at last to remonstrances which it could no longer with decency resist; yet, if there ever was a principle upon which an overstrained application of public money could be justified, it is surely furnished on the present occasion: and I have no doubt that the majority of the nation will unite in giving full credit to His Majesty's ministers, for this beneficent act of magnanimity and expiation.

Upon such sacrifices ————
The gods themselves throw incense!

And when the little interests which now agitate the minds of men so violently, have passed

vicinity of that river received as friends and brothers. Every one recollects the horrible picture drawn by Park, of what he suffered at Deena and in the Moorish camp of Benowm; also the cruel manner in which he was retained in slavery by Ali, the sultan of Ludamar. The people of Nigratia refused him both food and lodging; calling white men the sons of the devil. The Mandengoes, Fuladoo, and other negroe nations, were, on the contrary, courteous and obliging. All must recollect the beautiful simplicity and pathetic tenderness of a song, which the poor woman of Bambara composed, to soothe the melancholy mind of this meritorious traveller, accompanying it with the most zealous offices of kindness.

Judging of the negroes I saw in Barbary, they appeared to possess a natural gaiety and steadiness of character, which formed a striking contrast to the gloomy taciturnity of the Moors. When in their own countries, dancing and singing is said to form their chief delight and greatest source of amusement: they never salute a *booti*, or head of a tribe; nor return thanks for any favours which may have been conferred on them, without adding a song in praise of their generous benefactor. All the African villages, undisturbed by war, resound with song; and after sun-set, this great continent may be compared to one universal ball-room, without its superfluous ceremonies. As these demonstrations of happiness generally take place at the same hour, and the nights are beautifully serene, the nearest villagers alternately reply to each other in the national song, while

away, and in a few transitory years our animosities descend with us into the silent grave; it is actions like the above that will more than redeem the errors of England, and make her an example fit to be held up at once to the applause and imitation of posterity.

If, however, it should hereafter appear, that the four hundred thousand pounds given to Spain on this occasion, are appropriated to any other purpose than the one explicitly stipulated for in the treaty; viz. in compensating the loss sustained by His Catholic Majesty's subjects engaged in this nefarious traffic, while it was legally authorized, such a flagrant abuse of confidence will not escape the resentment of our government, while it cannot fail to afford the nation at large, another strong ground of complaint against the ministers and advisers of Ferdinand the VIIth.—*Ed.*

the more susceptible listen with eager curiosity, to catch the voice of their ebon Dulcinea. The black slaves in Algiers also dance occasionally; but it is the dance of slavery, in which chains echo a terrible response to the music. Theirs is no longer the song of tenderness and peace: it is slow, monotonous, and sorrowful; the expression of deep and settled melancholy.

Of Jews, there is an immense number scattered all over the coast of Barbary. The city of Algiers contains about eight thousand, most of whom have swerved considerably from the belief of their ancestors, following the Talmud and Kabbala, with the exception of those called free, who generally come from Leghorn to this place, and are allowed entire liberty in their movements. The unhappy sons of Israel, so badly treated in other countries, can expect little indulgence from the barbarians; consequently there is no species of outrage or vexation to which they are not exposed. They are prohibited from writing or speaking Arabic, to prevent their being able to read the *divine* Koran. They cannot ride on horseback, but are obliged to go on mules and asses; the first being too noble an animal for them. When passing a mosque, they are obliged to go bare-footed. They dare not approach a well or fountain, if there be a Moor drinking there; or sit down opposite to a Mahometan. Their clothing is obliged to be black; which colour is held in contempt by the Moors. The Jewish women are only permitted to veil a part of their features. The indolent Moor, with a pipe in his mouth and his legs crossed, calls any Jew who is passing, and makes him perform the offices of a servant. Others amuse themselves by smearing the hands, visage, hair, and clothes of the Jewish boys, with paint or mud; while the Turkish soldiers often enter their houses, insulting the females, without the heads of the family having the privilege of desiring them to retire.

It is the business of Jews to execute all criminals, and afterwards bury their bodies. They are also employed to carry the Moors on their shoulders, when disembarking in shoal water. They feed

the animals of the seraglio, and are incessantly exposed to the scoffings and derision of the young Moors, without the possibility of resenting it. Frequently beaten by their persecutors, if they lift a hand in their own defence, agreeable to the *lex talionis* of the Moors, it is taken off. But that which is still more irksome, is the never ending contributions levied on them: the weekly sum of two thousand dollars is exacted as a general tax upon the whole tribe, besides various other individual assessments, particularly whenever any Moorish festival takes place. The Turks insist on borrowing money even by force; and contrary to the European maxim, it is not he who forgets to pay, that is incarcerated, but the man who refuses to lend! A Jew cannot leave the regency without giving security to a large amount for his return. If any of the sect become bankrupts, and there happens to be a Turkish creditor, he is almost invariably accused of fraudulency and hung. Woe to those, who attempt to complain on such occasions: which is no trifling aggravation of their sufferings. There was once an imposition laid on fountains; upon which a poet wrote the following address: "You are loaded with imposts like us; but more happy than we—you are at least allowed to *murmur!*"

It is, however, astonishing with what stoical fortitude all this is borne by the followers of Abraham; many of whom, under an appearance of the greatest poverty, accumulate large fortunes. "It is true," said a Jew, on my asking how he could remain in a country, where he suffered so many vexations; "we suffer a great deal; but then what money we make!!"

On one side this extraordinary race suffer innumerable vexations and acts of injustice, together with the most cruel servitude; while on the other, their talents and industry, place them as the directors and proprietors of commerce, manufactures, and even the mint. The taxes immediately within the regency are all collected by Jews, and persons of this persuasion are the principal landholders. They serve as interpreters and secretaries, being frequently employed both as

counsellors and agents, in affairs of the greatest delicacy. And either from the influence of their money, or persevering flexibility of their character, they often exercise an unlimited sway in the divan and palace of the Dey. The Turks look with hatred and contempt upon the Jewish financiers, while they secretly envy their riches. Such, however, is the fate of the tax-gatherer and monopolist in every country.

The moral and political condition of this people, is a singular phenomenon in the history of human nature: they are a nation whose origin is traced to the first ages of the world, and who seem destined to continue till its close; a people whom God selected for his own, and led out of Egypt by his hand, filling with inspiration the writers of their history; a nation which regarded the Divinity as its king, his laws as their rule, and themselves as his patrimony; that is scattered all over the globe without a country, and which, in the midst of persecution and exile, preserves its faith untainted; a people, in fine, whose singular customs, and unshaken national character merit no less the attention of the philosopher than the statesman. How curious to reflect on this strange destiny of the sons of Jacob! Warriors and conquerors under the intrepid David, that man after God's own heart, full of power and of glory; and governed by Solomon, filling the eastern world with lessons of wisdom, while Judea reposed in peace with all mankind. What diversity of suffering did they not subsequently experience until the destruction of the temple, whether they remained faithful to Darius, after the victory at Arbela, or sorrowfully wandered over the plains of Nineveh: chained behind the Roman chariot ornamenting the triumph of Nero and Vespasian, or when afterwards massacred for the rebellion of Barcochebas and of Zabafer Levi. Even in the utmost excesses of misfortune, they do not cease to be a nation, to sigh after the banks of Jordan, and the dulcet sounds of Solima's harp! To them, an attachment to the dogma of their forefathers is the first of virtues. They were the architects of the colossal pyramids of Egypt, and of the Roman amphitheatres.

And thus, while in the lap of misery, have they participated in the greatest designs. The race of Abraham has never despaired of the divine justice: inflexible in adversity, they steadily direct their eyes towards that Omnipotent God, who has performed so many prodigies for them, and foretold,—*the time will come,* the *work shall be accomplished!*

There are, at present, three different sects among the Jews: the Karaiti, who only recognize the law of Moses in its literal sense; the Samaritans, a kind of schismatics, who are confined to some parts of Palestine; and the Rabbinists, who unite the Mosaic law to the interpretations contained in the Talmud, and in the oral traditions. Various other branches of Jewish sectarians are no longer recognized amongst them; such as the Saduceens, a species of materialists; the Essenists, whose doctrines had some resemblance to those of the Stoics, while their manners were not unlike the Quakers, and Moravian brothers; the Therapeuti, who seemed to have been models to the Anchorites; and the Rhodians, which was rather a political than religious sect.

The Talmud is a collection of maxims and precepts exclusively compiled for the edification of Jews, amongst whom its authority is very great; it being in some degree their canonical and civil code. This book contains many traits of a pure and sublime morality, together with numerous absurdities. The following, for instance, is no less ridiculous than amusing: the Messiah, it says, is to give to his people assembled in the land of Canaan, a grand entertainment: at this will be served the precise wine used at the table of Adam! and which had been preserved by the angels in vast cellars, situated in the centre of the earth. At this feast, is also to be served up a famous little fish, called the Leviathan, which is not less than two or three hundred leagues in length. In the beginning God created the masculine and feminine, of this singular fish; but as their offspring might have given rise to some inconvenience on earth, God killed the female, which he salted down for the feast of the Messiah.

The great *Behemoth* is also to be slaughtered for the same occasion: this animal is of so monstrous a size, that he daily consumes the hay of a thousand mountains. The feminine was killed for the same reasons as that of the Leviathan, but not salted, because fish is preferable.*

With the exception of slaves and a few other individuals, there are no Christians settled at Algiers. The Dey takes care to prevent their increase; and those who go there for any commercial purpose, cannot remain longer than a stated period, or take a house, and are consequently obliged to lodge at the residence of some well-known Jew during their continuance in the city. It is said that this rigorous

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* There are two works which bear this name; the Talmud of Jerusalem, and that of Babylon. Each of these is composed of two parts: the Mishna, which is the text, and is common to both; and the Gemera, or commentary. The Mishna, which comprehends all the laws, institutions, and rules of life, which, besides the ancient Hebrew scriptures, the Jews thought themselves bound to observe, was composed according to their unanimous testimony, about the close of the second century: it was the work of Rabbi Jehuda Hakkadosh, who was the ornament of the school at Tiberias, and is said to have occupied him forty years. The commentaries and additions made by succeeding Rabbis, were collected by Jochanan Ben Eliezar; some say in the sixth, and others in the seventh century, under the name of *Gemera*, that is, *completion*, because it completed the Talmud.

It cannot certainly be denied, that the history of this extraordinary people is calculated to excite our astonishment in no trifling degree; yet, I candidly confess, no new discovery in their general character has induced me to change an opinion I ventured to give of them in another place: which opinion, founded as it was on the usurious principles and isolated selfishness of the whole tribe, corroborated by ages of experience, could not have been very favourable to the sons of Levi. If, however, any person, whether Jew, Christian, or Turk, has the goodness to inform me in what particular instances they have, *as a nation*, gone out of the beaten path of monopoly, and insatiable love of gain, for the general benefit of mankind, I shall then be most happy in adding my applause to that of others. No liberal mind can approve of the persecutions this sect has met with, in common with every other in the days of barbarism; which have, I trust, gone by for ever. Without attempting to justify that which will not bear an excuse, it has frequently occurred to me, that while religious and political persecution was the order of the day in Europe, the Jews had infinitely less reason to complain than their Christian neighbours.—*Ed.*

system arises as much from the fanatical zeal of their chief, as from a strong feeling of jealousy on the part of the Moors, on seeing the predilection of their women towards Christians in general.

The life which a European leads in this place, is naturally of the most melancholy description. The continual sight of his brethren in chains, is a constant source of suffering, while he is personally exposed to a thousand dangers and unpleasantries, arising from the unsettled state of the government, and probable chance of offending one of the faithful; which event generally ends in the Nazarene's receiving a good drubbing. It has also happened, that an enthusiastic Marabout, upon some trifling pretence, has peremptorily insisted on a Christian's being circumcised, and assuming the turban; from which appeal it is extremely difficult to escape: and if they accidentally come in contact with any of their religious processions, there is a very fair chance of suffering the martyrdom of St. Stephen. If one happens to be near the door of a Moor, when leaving his house, jealousy is immediately awakened, and requires very little stimulus to be followed by a *coup de poignard.* When found in the streets somewhat late at night, you are seized and carried before the Cadi; met by any of the young Turks, in addition to the pleasing epithet of *cornutos* and *can senza fede,* your ears are saluted with a chorus to the following effect:—"The true believers with celestial houris lie on beds of roses; while Jews and Christians are extended on burning coals!" The ladies, too, by the way of not losing the opportunity of a good joke at our expence, on passing along, accompany a very significant look, by placing their fair hands against the forehead, in such a way as not to be mistaken for a pair of *horns!* If, on the contrary, any of them are induced to view us less unfavourably, and the intrigue be discovered, the fate of Leila awaits the female, while the Christian loses his head.*

In alluding to the probability of such an event as the foregoing, it may be proper to observe, that in addition to the perils of meeting

* Vide Lord Byron's Giaour.

a complaisant Moorish woman, there is also that of being entrapped for the purpose of extortion or assassination.

A young Christian, observing a beautiful woman, attended by an old female slave, fancied that his regards were not disagreeable, and that he might consequently follow her with impunity. The old Argus coming up, told him to stop, but begged he would contrive to be near the mosque about the same hour next day. He did not fail to attend, and the lady also came; but instead of the same slave, another had taken her place, whose appearance seemed quite gigantic to the Christian. Soon after, both entered the shop of a Jew, making signs to the young man to follow; scarcely had he crossed the threshold, when the new attendant, raising the veil which had hitherto covered the head, disclosed a face not unlike that of Medusa; and in a stern voice demanded of the petrified Christian, how he dared to follow the woman of a Mussulman? Upon this, the poor young man stammered out, by way of explanation, that he meant no harm, and only followed with the honest intention of offering his hand to the lady who had inspired him with the strongest passion. —That cannot be, replied the Moor, as she is my wife; and I am not disposed to cede her to such a dog of a Christian as you are; but I am determined to punish you, for having attempted to raise your thoughts to the wife of a Mahometan. Therefore, take the choice of either instantly becoming a Mussulman, or of being put to death! On this proposition being made, the wretched Christian trembled like a leaf, ignorant how he should act; when the proprietor of the shop whispered in his ear, that he might get out of the scrape, by giving the Moor all the money he had about him, and signing a paper for the payment of another large sum: to all which the European most joyfully consented, considering himself as extremely happy in having thus got clear at so cheap a rate. The female, Moor, and Jew, who had combined on this occasion to deceive the Christian, had a fine laugh at the result of their successful farce, which appeared likely to have so tragical an end for the disappointed suitor.

What kind of a life, therefore, must one lead in a place where there is no person with whom you can change a word in safety; where you are obliged to give the wall to beasts of burthen; where women as they pass by, honor you with the sign of *Capricorn*, and Marabouts insist on your being circumcised? A person travelling through Germany, was once met by a large dog, who seemed to approach him with a ferocious howl, as if intending to bite; by the way of keeping the animal at bay, the traveller stooped down to pick up a stone, but to his great mortification, found them all fixed to the earth by a hard frost, upon which he exclaimed: "Cursed country! where they bind the stones, and unchain the dogs!" I shall say, evil befal the place where slaves are loaded with chains, and Marabouts are suffered to be at large!

The number of renegadoes at Algiers is by no means numerous: some Christians, forced to fly from Ceuta for their crimes, rendered desperate by long suffering, or blinded by a passion for some female, have abandoned the religion of Christ for that of Mahomet. Upon this they receive pay like the Turks, and can aspire to all the honors of the state, including that of Dey, as in the case of *Mezzomorto*.* It is not, however, customary for the Moors to encourage proselytism amongst the slaves, knowing what a loss they must sustain by the latter's freedom, and also from an opinion that an apostate, either in politics or religion, cannot be trusted.

To prevent the advancement of a renegade to the higher offices, he is interdicted from marrying a Mahometan female: his mistakes or bad conduct, are also punished with the utmost severity, while he is always surrounded by a large cabal, and envious eyes are ever directed towards his ruin. It is related of a Grand Seignor of the Turks, that

* So called from his being found half dead on the field of battle: having the command of a shabeque, he ran before the ship of a Christian, upon which the Dey ordered him on pain of death to return to the ocean and re-establish the lost honor of Algiers: this Mezzomorto obeyed, evincing many proofs of intrepidity which advanced him to the chief naval command, and finally led to his becoming Dey.

he wrote to the Pope, recommending a French bishop, for the next cardinal's hat that became vacant: and by the way of raising him in the holy father's estimation, mentioned that the said bishop had a great desire to turn Mahometan!

It is well known with how much avidity the famous Count Bonneval was received at Constantinople; and the Emperor of Morocco gave the command of his army to the Duke de Ripperda. But things have undergone a wonderful change in this respect; and we may safely assure ourselves, that neither a Christian nor renegade, can now attain to any post of eminence in the states of Barbary.

All those who embrace the Moorish religion are not thereby rendered free: they have merely less fatigue, and enjoy rather more liberty, particularly that of giving themselves up to a greater course of infamy. If a Christian is heard to repeat, "God is merciful, and Mahomet is his prophet;" he is taken before the Cadi, and instantly obliged to embrace the faith of Islamism. The Jew who may be desirous of turning Mahometan, must first become a Christian, in order, as the Moors say, to follow the course of different religions, and finally pass through those gradations which lead to perfection.

The Turks of Algiers, as observed in a former chapter, are all foreigners, originally sent from Constantinople for the purpose of defending and maintaining this government under the protection and influence of the Grand Seignor. Having, however, once obtained power, this refractory body not only refused to obey, but shortly after assumed a degree of supremacy which has for nearly two centuries been a source of the utmost terror and oppression, both to the natives, and those European powers whose maritime force may have been insufficient to cope with the corsairs. Exercising a much greater share of power than the Pretorian guards of Rome, Mamalukes of Egypt, or the Tartars in China; they occupy all the offices of state, and keep the Moors in the cruellest bondage, while their violence has long made Algiers the theatre of revolution and bloodshed.

This lawless force is kept up by sending ships and commissaries to the Levant annually, to procure new recruits, in order to fill up those vacancies occasioned by war, deaths, or punishments. These are collected from the very lowest dregs of the people in Smyrna and Constantinople, nor are the vilest malefactors rejected. The Barbary recruits are looked upon with so much contempt, that even the women refuse to accompany them in their new calling. No sooner, however, are they landed in Algiers, and formed into an insolent and dominating militia, than a high air of importance is put on; and giving themselves the title of Effendis, they possess all the arrogance and pride, which generally belong to the upstart favourites of fortune. Notwithstanding their vanity, they are by no means ashamed of their base origin: on the contrary, they seem to feel a peculiar pleasure in publishing from what low degrees they have been enabled to arrive at the highest offices. A Dey while disputing with one of the European consuls, once said: "my father salted tongues at Pera, and my mother sold them in Constantinople; but I never knew a worse tongue than yours!"

Although the militia seldom exceed ten or twelve thousand, they are enabled to keep five millions of people in fear and subjection, by all of whom they are naturally held in the greatest abhorrence, notwithstanding the hard necessity of obeying such monsters. It would appear, however, that they have to deal with a people so degraded by oppression, that they place their chief glory in humbling themselves, esteeming a man in proportion as his slavery is abject. The ass complained to Jupiter of being always condemned to labour and the lash. "My friend," replied the god, "how is it possible for me to persuade men that you are not a poltroon? Besides, you know they are naturally cruel: however, I'll do all I can to alleviate your condition: you shall be rendered insensible!" Tacitus with a profound knowledge of human nature, has observed, that the first person who dared to become a tyrant, found slavish hearts ready to obey him;

and that voluntary servitude makes more tyrants, than the latter do slaves.

The distrustful policy of the Algerine government takes all possible care to prevent too close a union between the Turkish soldiery and Moorish population, so as to render them at once the instruments and accomplices of its tyranny; consequently intermarriage with the Moorish women is not encouraged. It was not long since that a rich Moor, Sydi Cador, lost his head, for having given his daughter in marriage to an aga. But the empire of love is the most powerful of all, so that many Turks influenced by the ardour of passion, unite themselves to natives, and they are generally preferred by the parents, who are thus enabled to anticipate support in the hour of revolution. Weakness looks to power for protection, and beauty likes to become the reward of valour. The children who spring from these marriages may in some measure be compared to the Creoles of the West Indies; and are called *Chiloulis.* At Tunis they become soldiers, and receive pay almost as soon as they are able to walk; but in Algiers they are not enrolled until a more advanced age. Viewed with great jealousy by the Turks, the Chiloulis seldom rise to situations of trust or dignity. Many are employed as accountants and agents in mercantile houses, in which situation their intelligence and fidelity have become almost proverbial. Although partaking of Turk and Moor, they are decidedly most attached to the latter. Numerous, strong, and united, many think that in the future revolutions of this place, a Chilouli will reign as Petion, or Christophe, at St. Domingo.

The Berberi, or *Berrebres,* are the indigenous people of Barbary, to which they have given this name. They are the descendants of the Carthaginians, Getuli, and Lybians; mixed with the Saracen invaders who entered Africa, under the inhuman Kaled el Valid, surnamed the Sword of God. They inhabit the whole chain of the Atlas, near the Isthmus of Suez, and are the same race as the *Bere-*

bras, a people of Upper Egypt, as also the *Guanches* of the Canary Islands, speaking nearly the same language. They are of a very athletic form: and extremely brave, and are also remarkable for fine teeth and eyes, the pupils of which are generally of a bright brown, not unlike the gloss of antique bronze. Neither fat, nor very fleshy, they are chiefly formed of nerve and muscle. Although wrinkled in early life, their vigorous and active habits keep off the feeling of old age, which is only discovered by the whiteness of their beard and hair: they never speak of it, or seem to know of such an evil; and whenever at the age of seventy, it happens that they are unable scrupulously to perform all the offices of the sabbath, as enjoined by the Koran, they do not accuse weight of years, but incantation and sorcery. Their dress is composed of a shirt without sleeves, and short pantaloons; the head is shaved in front, leaving the hair behind; they do not let their beard grow, having merely a little tuft on the chin and mustachios. They inhabit small cabins on the highest mountains, and some find shelter in caves, like the ancient Troglodites. Their houses are built of stone, or wood, and surrounded by a wall, which is pierced with loop-holes, for defence all round. Proud and audacious, they are implacable in their hatred.* They are excellent swimmers, and delight in the chace. Passionately fond of their musket, they frequently expend seventy or eighty dollars to ornament it with ivory and silver. They generally hang the paw of a lion, or other ferocious beast of prey round their children's necks to inspire force and courage, and the young brides present their husbands with simular amulets. Their fields are well cultivated. Warmly attached to their native mountains, they prefer the higher grounds, and very rarely change their place of abode.

The most numerous tribe of the Berberi, known by the name of

* This part of the Arab's character is fully illustrated in a curious anecdote, p. 77, of Tully's Residence in Tripoly, one of the most interesting and amusing works extant on Barbary.—*Ed.*

Schulla, are found in Morocco. In Algiers they are called *Kabiles,* or *Cubail;* those who inhabit the Sahara, are styled *Towaricks.* The Cubail are the poorest and most filthy. They regard foreigners and travellers, of every kind, with great jealousy: it is on this account necessary to make them believe you are looking for medicinal herbs; for, like all savage nations, they cannot conceive that any one travels for instruction or amusement. The Kabiles of Algiers, are by far the most discontented and rebellious of all Barbary. The Turks watch them with the utmost jealousy and suspicion, often retaining the sons of their chiefs, as hostages for the good conduct and fidelity of the parents. I saw two of these at Algiers in chains, and treated with as much severity as the Christian slaves. The Berberi obey foreign domination with disdain, while their hatred foments with the ardent heat of a burning sun.

It is scarcely necessary to inform the reader, that the Bedouin tribes form a very considerable portion of the whole population of Barbary. Their name is derived from *Beddui,* an inhabitant of the desert, extending from the sandy plains of Persia to Morocco. These people have preserved their pristine simplicity of manners and customs, with singular constancy; and still continue strongly attached to the pastoral life, so well adapted to their rich vallies, warm sun, and serene climate. Their language is the Arabic; which they pretend to speak in its greatest purity. There is no nation on earth, that has adhered so closely to ancient manners, and their primitive mode of living, as the Arabs: religion excepted, they are precisely what they were in the days of Job. A traveller arriving amongst them, is no less surprised than delighted, to find their dress, manners, and usages, exactly as he had seen them described in history, and represented on canvass: not to mention their perfect conformity to the accounts transmitted by Pliny, Strabo, Leo Africanus, and Pomponius Mela: so that amongst the Arabs, a modern traveller may fancy himself in the midst of the people of antiquity.

Those tribes nearest Algiers, were soon brought into subjection,

and its consequent corruption; but the more remote ones still remain free, retaining all the pride of liberty. Some of these Bedouins are frequently seen at the capital, half naked, and armed with bows and arrows, mounted on fiery chargers. They are generally distinguished by a fine form and generous nature: they boast of having descended from the patriarchs, and are excessively vain of their freedom. Passionately fond of the open country and free air of their native plains, they cannot conceive how others dwell in the mephitic atmosphere of cities. Although extremely well made, they are by no means handsome in features. Like the Mulattoes, their complexion is olive coloured, but more inclined to brown. They are also meagre, and very much parched by the sun: their eyes and teeth are equally fine as those of the Berrebres; while the exquisiteness of their senses is proverbial. By a simple inspection of the soil, a Bedouin will know the exact spot where water can be found, however deep in the surface; and he hears its murmurings at an amazing distance, while his sense of smelling enables him to trace the road his camel has recently passed over. In fact, there is, in the general character of this race, a mixture of strength and generosity which always attracts the attention of strangers. It is not a single feature that is to be considered: we should judge of the entire physiognomy. The Bedouin is also temperate, laborious, and tolerant; being, in cases of emergency, capable of abstaining from any kind of food for two or three days:* all which most happily adapts him to the wandering life he leads in the desert. He is not choleric or litigious, like the Moor; and when engaged in any dispute, he is not only very noisy, but often draws his *cangiar*, or dagger; but scarcely ever

* A celebrated French traveller, in speaking of this singular race, observes, "It will appear almost incredible to us, but it is an undoubted fact, that the quantity of food usually consumed by the greatest part of them, does not exceed six ounces a day. Six or seven dates soaked in melted butter, a little sweet milk or curds, serves a man a whole day; and he esteems himself happy when he can add a small quantity of coarse flour or a little ball of rice!"—*Ed.*

uses it; and if, during the most violent quarrel, his opponent repeats, "Think of God and the prophet," the weapon is instantly put up, and peace restored. Their vengeance is terrible and long cherished: as in Corsica, if one of an Arab family is murdered, the most distinguished member in that of the assassin's must perish, should the perpetrator remain undiscovered. But these resentments arise from a keen sense of honor, and as they believe, just retaliation. With an external appearance of severity and harshness, the Arab possesses a large share of urbanity, and goodness of heart. Trees should not be estimated by the ruggedness of their bark, but by the sweetness of the fruit and beauty of their flowers.

The education given to their youth is above all others calculated to produce muscular strength, and an agility peculiarly requisite for the fatiguing kind of life to which they are destined. Without absolutely thwarting their natural inclinations, parents never submit to the caprices of their offspring. This has the effect of developing the faculties at a very early age; and as he is completely uninfluenced by the terrors of a parental brow, the Arab youth generally delivers his sentiments with firmness and courage. He must speak sensibly, if he wishes to ensure a reply. Treated, in fact, like a man, he acquires the ambition of deserving it.

The costume of the Bedouins is extremely picturesque: their hair is very short, and the head sometimes enveloped with a linen band; turbans are not worn, and but few make use of caps or sandals. The principal covering consists of a cloth five or six feet wide, and nine in length, called an *el haik:* this is a species of white woollen cloth, bearing some resemblance to the Merino manufacture. Although the haik gives both grace and majesty to the wearer, it must from constant falling off the shoulder and interruption in walking, be very inconvenient, though custom most probably removes the difficulty with the Arabs. There is, however, a considerable degree of elegance in the mode of replacing the haik whenever it becomes deranged: the frequency of this circumstance renders a band necessary: hence the scriptural phrase "to have the loins girt." The finer kind of haik

are those which the ancients called *peplus*, which Euripides styled vestures that trailed along, and Eschylus cloak descending down to the feet. It was also no doubt the toga of Rome, as it bears the strongest resemblance to many of the draperies seen on the statues of senators, and other citizens of the empire. The Bedouins have besides an outer mantle, called *bernousse*: this is composed of one entire piece, narrow at the neck, and having a hood to cover the head. This cloak is like the *pallium* of the Romans; and when the hood is over, may be compared to the *cardocucullus* of the Gauls. Some wear a covering under the haik, not unlike the Roman tunic. The men tie the haik with a cord, which is fastened in the form of a turban; while the women attach it together by a silver clasp. Nearly all the Bedouins go barefooted, except in riding, when large boots are worn. The lower classes generally go with their heads uncovered; but the rich wear a small scarlet cap, on which is a species of turban, the order and number of whose folds, as in China, denotes the rank of the wearer, and whether he is a military man or merchant. This cap seems to be the *tiara* of the ancients, and, in fact, many of their coins bear one exactly like it.

The bands are of wool, and worked with a good deal of taste, representing various figures and emblems: they are sufficiently long to go round the waist several times, and answer to the zone of the Greeks. On going out, the *bernousse* is thrown carelessly over the shoulder: should it rain they take it off, and it is not put on again until the shower is over. The *sheich* is another cloak worn by the Bedouins, which reaches down below the knees, and has a much finer hood than the *bernousse*. The Arab always carries a cangiar, and when travelling is furnished with a sword, which is suspended from the left shoulder; also a musket, with which he scarcely ever misses his mark. Notwithstanding the laws of Algiers prohibit any persons but the Turkish soldiery from bearing arms, the wandering Bedouin treats them with silent disdain; and like his Saracen ancestors never fails to carry the means of redress about him.

The dress of the Arab females is also composed of a haik, under

which a chemise and pantaloons are worn: the upper part of the haik is converted into a species of sack, for the purpose of carrying their youngest children, who always accompany the mother. The head is covered with a kind of handkerchief, called *sarnâh:* this is very much interwoven with gold and silver threads. An additional ornament worn with it, consists of a triangular piece of linen, embroidered and coloured with considerable art, which hangs down the back, and terminating by the appearance of a lock of hair, has a particularly graceful effect. It is customary for the Arab women to wear their hair excessively long, sometimes reaching to the ground; and those, whom nature has not blest with this mark of beauty, obtain false locks, which being put into the finest kind of silk net, is agitated in playful undulation over the shoulders. They are extremely fond of coral and pearls: in the absence of these, various ornaments, composed of shells and teeth of fish, are substituted on the neck, ancles, and wrists. Tatooing is also practised, though not to a very great extent. One of the most highly esteemed graces of the Arab female, is that of tinging the eyebrows and lids with black lead pulverized: this is still farther enhanced by drawing several circles round the eye with the same material: a custom which is, I believe, peculiar to all the savage tribes of the East, who make use of the famous *sirmet.* The circumstance of being on a journey, or occupied in the labours of the field, never prevents the women from wearing their richest ornaments; arising either from their not knowing the use of cabinets and cases, or perhaps from vanity; which, even in their solitary mode of life, seems to be a quality inherent in their nature. An Arab beauty is thus described by Hariri and Montannabi, two of their celebrated poets: "Her person ought to be slender, like the bending rush, or long lance of Yemen; with flanks of such magnitude that they can scarcely pass the entrance of the tent; two pomegranates rising on a bosom of alabaster; eyes, piercing and languid like those of the gazelle; arched eyebrows, hair black and curling, waving over a neck, as long as the camel's!" Some of the Bedouin women are as expert in managing the barb as the men; and whenever they find it necessary

to address the Dey, they display a degree of quickness, courage, and eloquence, which is really surprising.

The Bedouins eat a great quantity of bread at their meals; and would be in a sad plight were they set down at a table in London or Amsterdam, where one can hardly distinguish the morsel which is put near his plate. In the cities of Barbary, there are regular bakers who prepare the bread in ovens; but amongst the Arabs, no leaven is used. "Ye shall eat nothing leavened; in all your habitations shall ye eat unleavened bread."—Exod. c. xii.; the flour being simply mixed with water, and when made into cakes, are either roasted on the fire or put into a pan, called *tayen*, which is exactly similar both as to use and form to the *tagenon* of the Greeks and Jews. And as in Leviticus, that which is baked in the *tagenon*, is called after it; so, amongst the Arabs, the bread is called *tayen*, from the vessel in which it is prepared. The paste composed of ground wheat or rice, which they fry in the tayen, is what we call *donzelle*, in Tuscany.* But as we sometimes remain for ages, without arriving at a discovery which touches immediately on one already made, the Bedouins were, on my arrival at Algiers, ignorant of the mode in which we mix the flour and make it unite, so as to fry it with oil. This in the Florentine territory is called *migliacciuole*. It was, therefore, reserved for me to cross the sea from a distant land, and disseminate a new discovery in Africa! Its communication was received with the utmost gratitude; so much so, that I almost expected to be waited on by a deputation of the tribes to return thanks, having heard that my name had been even inscribed as a general benefactor on several palm trees. From it, also, the savory dish was christened, *panantelle;* for which I shall, no doubt, be rendered famous in Africa, for having given my name to a palatable cake. Mine will, perhaps, on some future day, bear an humble comparison with that of my distinguished countryman, who

* The Italian tourist will, no doubt, be reminded of the immense pan containing this favourite preparation, which is sold in all the towns of Italy; more particularly at Rome, Florence, and Genoa.—*Ed.*

gave his to the American continent. The benefits we render our fellow creatures, are amply repaid by their gratitude. The incense nourishes the flame which diffuses it around, while the latter serves to develope the odoriferous perfume.

The custom of eating together, like the heroes of Homer, and people of Caledonia, in the days of Ossian and Fingal, is amongst the Arabs an inviolable guarantee of fidelity in keeping their word, and acting up to promised friendship. When two chiefs meet, the bows are bent, and attaghans drawn: this is followed by one of each tribe stepping forward; they seat themselves: a bowl is then filled with coffee or milk; they drink together; and this simple ceremony ended, the tribes are united in the closest bonds of friendship. If you sit down with an Arab, eat bread and salt with him, and receive a verbal pledge of security; you may, without further apprehension, go through the whole country of his tribe.*

The Bedouins are Mahometans, and like the whole of that terrible sect filled with innumerable superstitions of the most extravagant description: they are loaded with charms and amulets, to prevent the influence of magic and enchantment; they have their climacteric number, which is five, and considered as particularly ominous. "Five in your eyes," is one of the greatest imprecations: another, not less efficacious in their opinion, is performed by drawing the hand over the eyes, and pronouncing the word *capsa*. On sitting down to eat, however, or at the commencement of any undertaking, they repeat *Bismillah*, "in the name of God;" and when the meal is at an end, *Allamandillah*, "God be praised." On saluting each other, they raise their hand to the heart, saying, *Salum aleikum*, "peace be with thee:" this is answered by *Allikum essutum*, "peace be also with you." To those of another persuasion, they merely say, *Sebul echaim* and *Sahheb salamet*, "friend, how art thou?" The usual posture assumed when saluting, is that of

* A curious illustration of this fact will be found in Tully's Tripoli, Pages 79, and 80.—*Ed.*

placing the right hand on the breast; and this is a gesture of uncommon dignity. Amongst very intimate friends and equals, they reciprocally kiss the forehead and shoulders. The lower classes of society salute the knees of their superiors as a mark of respect. Whenever they meet in the desert, they shake hands five or six times, each kissing his own as often as it has been presented to his friend; who then attempts to repeat the same ceremony with the others; but this sign of submission is rejected, until both parties begin to get tired of salutation, which is annoying even in the desert: the oldest suffers the other to kiss his fingers. The better educated generally salute each other's cheek. During Bairam and other solemn feasts, wives, by the way of paying a high compliment to husbands, kiss their hands.

The sole occupation of the Arabs is confined to the care of their flocks, horses, the chace, and war. When called to the field, the wives, children, and herds follow, in order that the sight of such endearing objects may excite them to acts of heroism and valour. If they betray any symptoms of fear, and are vanquished, they are reproved by their wives in the manner of the Spartan heroines. They have very few laws, and can do without them, while their wants continue so limited: preserving the same simplicity of manners, they pursue the uniform tenor of their past life. Like the Samoides, who when called upon by the Autocrat of all the Russias, to assist in compiling an universal code for the empire, answered, that they did not seek for laws; and prayed his imperial majesty to give them to some of their neighbours who might be more in want of legislative regulations. Every one recollects the story of the navigator, who, thrown upon a desert shore, was alarmed lest he should be devoured by beasts of prey, but discovering a gibbet upon which a man had been recently suspended, joyfully exclaimed, "thank Heaven! I am then amongst civilized people!"

All the riches of these people consist in their flocks; besides which, many of the chiefs keep droves of camels for the transport of merchandize. They slaughter very few cattle, being satisfied with

the wool and milk.' The women superintend the bee-hive, and attend to the growth of the silk-worm; they also weave stuffs and linen, on looms arranged for that purpose in the tents: instead of a shuttle, their fingers are used to pass the thread: after the manner of Penelope, Andromache, and the matrons of Rome, their task is conducted with incredible assiduity. Like the daughters of Judea, they go to the distant wells every evening, to fetch water for the camels, and for domestic purposes. They are, however, somewhat less accommodating than Dinah; for if a stranger addresses them, they instantly let their veil fall, and thus hide every feature, as Rebecca did on the first sight of Isaac.* If a stranger happens to be passing on the same road, they sit down with their backs towards him until he is out of sight. They also grind the corn, having small hand grind-stones for that purpose; precisely the machine alluded to by Moses and our Saviour. There is another mill, yet more portable, which is carried with those who take long journies. The women make a very good stuff out of camel and goat's hair: the preparation of morocco leather is also an object of female industry. The skins are worked down to the texture of paper, and tinged with various colours, serving a great variety of useful purposes. They make bridles out of one piece: and there are itinerant jewellers, who manufacture rings and other ornaments for both sexes.

When a young man wishes to marry a Bedouin female, he declares his intention to her father; and if approved, is received with civility: the parent then descants on the merits of his daughter, and fecundity of her mother, which promises the same inestimable quality in the child. When once the father's promise is given, he calls upon the suitor for a certain number of cows and oxen, as a sign of gratitude for so meritorious a partner. The intended bridegroom soon

* It is really wonderful to reflect on the undeviating constancy with which the patriarchal manners and customs have been transmitted through so many centuries of darkness and revolution to the present times. So striking is the similitude between all the modes of living adopted by the Bedouins, that the best description we have of them is little more than a repetition of what all have read in the beautiful simplicity of the scriptures.—*Ed.*

after conducts the required offering with all due solemnity before the tent of his future father-in-law; who then communicates the proposal to his daughter, upon which she graciously prepares to receive her lover. The relatives and friends of the bride are then invited, and the young man being introduced, is asked how much he has given for his wife? He replies, that a wise and industrious woman costs nothing. After this, all the young virgins of the neighbourhood place the bride on horseback, and conduct her to the tent of the bridegroom; where she is immediately presented by the husband's friends with a beverage composed of milk and honey, as a symbol of the future harmony and sweetness of their union; while she drinks, the attendant maidens sing an epithalamium. The bride then alights, and taking a stake which is presented to her, she drives it into the earth as far as her strength will allow; repeating, "like this stake, which will never change its position, without force is employed to draw it up, so will I never abandon my husband, unless it should please him to discard me."

This ceremony concluded, she is next shewn the flocks which are destined to be under her future care: these she takes to the adjoining meadows for some time; and on her return, another bowl of milk is presented, in which is put a small bit of the husband's tent: while she drinks, the company sing verses in praise of the parties, and finish by imploring the blessing of Heaven on their heads, together with the possession of large flocks and many children. The day being past in festivity, the friends retire; leaving the bride in the arms of her husband.

Contrary to the austere custom of the Moors, the Arab shepherd is allowed to see the object of his affections some time before marriage; and this interval he frequently employs in proving, by various delicate attentions, the force of his passion. Besides his nightly visit to the vicinity of her tent, he occasionally salutes her ear with a serenade; while in the day-time, the language of the eye only serves to fan the flame created by his nocturnal assiduities. It is thus that the young

and ardent Bedouin is enabled to enjoy the first of human gratifications, that of selecting a woman of his own choice. Inestimable blessing! rarely met with in more civilized society. A female of great feeling and animation, used to say: "my father wishes to marry me to a man of talent; my mother, to one who cuts a great figure in the world; and my uncle to one who is very rich; but give me the man whom I can love!"

With all this happy freedom of choosing a partner, the young Bedouins never marry without their parents' entire approbation: besides, they are more intent on seeking a wife, than on adding to the number of useless admirers. "Why," asks an English writer, "are so few girls married now-a-days?" Because there are more who think of making nets than cages!

The Arab is modest, serious, and scarcely ever laughs: he tells you that smiles are only intended by nature to ornament the countenance of women: he speaks with gravity, and not until some moments after the person he may be conversing with, has ceased. He is neither fond of jokes nor scandal: thinking the one proceeds from littleness of mind, and the other a wicked disposition. The joy of the sage is seen and not heard. With all the Arab is neither melancholy, silent, nor sedentary. He is fond of roving, seeing, and conversing. The crowds and activity observable amongst the tribes is almost incredible: you meet people constantly coming and going, where any tribe is established. There are fairs and markets held throughout the week except on Friday; and numberless bands of dancers, conjurors, and mountebanks are always in attendance, serving either to amuse the people or impose their medicinal quackeries on the credulity of the multitude.* If an European visits them, it follows of course that he is a doctor, and possesses *saphies* for the cure of every disease: these he must immediately set about writing, and when dis-

* As the more decorous mode of passing the Sabbath in this country has not produced any sensible effect on our Gallic neighbours, perhaps they may be induced to take a leaf out of the Arab's book of morality?—*Ed.*

tributed to the wondering Arabs, they are instantly suspended round the neck, and must shortly perform miracles on the credulous patient.

In the gentle uniformity of the pastoral life, with their serene nights, and tranquil atmosphere, those of a more refined understanding amongst the Arabs, study the arts and sciences; and poetry is not forgotten. A good poet is sure of obtaining every distinction: they sing the battles and tales of love, in heroic and tender strains. The sheiks and even princes do not think themselves degraded by attending their flocks: and while the latter feed, they are employed in composing verses in praise of a country life; the tranquillity of pastoral pursuits, and serene days experienced by the patriarchs of old, who were blessed with the approbation and support of Heaven. I heard the lines of a young bard, which seemed to breathe a considerable degree of spirit and expression: they related the prowess of an Arab prince, who had destroyed a fierce giant that had been the terror of his tribe; he then described the courage and valour of a Bedouin, who struck down a furious lion one night, while going to visit a young female, whose gait was majestic, and eyes more beautiful than those of the gazelle!

A collection of the finest maxims, and choicest compositions, are generally learned by heart, and forms a material part in the education of an Arab: by which poetry is restored to its natural intention and original purpose; that of transmitting historical events, celebrating the actions of the brave, instructing young societies, or those who have retained their primitive simplicity.

CHAPTER IX.

Account of the Kabiles and Arab Tribes.—The Himas.—Tents.—Dowers.—Encampments.—Dascars, or Arab Villages.—The Sheiks.—The Plundering Arabs.—Anecdotes respecting them.

THE Bedouins are divided into many scattered tribes, called *Kabiles*, and vulgarly *Nege;* but it is necessary to distinguish the wandering Arabs, from those who have a fixed residence. In the deserts of Persia and Syria, most of the land is susceptible of cultivation, and is besides generally well watered; but neither of these cases can apply to the arid sands of Africa, where verdure is so scarce, that their inhabitants are obliged to go in search of it, like the Calmucks and Tartars. Some tribes, however, remain stationary for several years: while others, frequently change their position, paying a small quit rent for the lands they cultivate, or upon which their flocks are permitted to range. When the families become too numerous, they separate: one party going to the right, and the other to the left, like the progeny of Abraham and Lot.* In journeying from one station to another, three women are carried by each camel, while the children and young lambs are contained in panniers suspended on each side, and the fowls roost on the neck and bunch. On these occasions the males go on foot, for the purpose of keeping together and directing the flocks, their muskets being hung up to the pummel

* This is another very striking coincidence, between the customs of the Arabs, and their remote ancestors of the East. "Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left." *Genesis, Chap. XIII.—Ed.*

of the camel's saddle. It is thus, that an Arab family travels when in search of a new establishment.

Some of the tribes are both numerous and powerful, such as the Beni Mezzaab, near the Desert of Angad; the Psummata, a warlike tribe towards Mount Atlas; the Gamma, inhabiting the mountains of Couco; Beni Abbas, on the great road to Constantina; and the Bedouins of the Zaab, who are descended from the ancient Melanogetuli. These tribes generally take the names of their original chiefs or founders, merely adding the word Beni. They frequently form different camps, all of which place themselves under the direction of a single emir of their own election: this chief has sometimes as many as three hundred under his orders.* Such associations are rendered necessary to defend them from the oppression of the Turks: as, to avoid insult, they must possess force, which can alone ensure protection: he who knows how to make himself feared, is generally respected.

There was some years ago, an Arab named Abuferez, of great courage and intelligence, who attempted to unite all the Kabiles in the vicinity of Mount Atlas. But, instead of forming a powerful league, like the Iriquois of America, the Persian Afghans, or Rohillas of Hindostan, the African Arabs are only intent on making war upon each other; and the Turks, who are actively employed in fomenting their quarrels, do not fail to profit by them. When I asked why they did not form one general alliance under a single powerful chief, they informed me, it arose from the apprehension of their making a tyrant for themselves; and that it was infinitely better to suffer temporary vexations, than a state of constant oppression. I am, however, fully of opinion, that the Bedouins under an intrepid and fortunate chief, would become an independent, powerful, and happy people; as the Drusi and Birmans of the East did, when led on by

* "Each camp has its respective sheik, but thechief of the tribe is entitled El Kiber, the great sheik." Keatinge, Vol. I. p. 327, where the manners and customs of the Arab tribes are very ably illustrated.—*Ed.*

Fac Jardin and Alompia: divided and discordant, their patrimony can only be weakness and slavery. "We should not," says an oriental proverb, "separate the sun which lightens and vivifies the universe into so many fixed stars, that only serve the more to attest the presence of darkness."

The tents under which the wandering Arabs live, are called Himas, from the shade they afford; and Beef el Shaar, meaning houses of skins and hair. These tents differ in size, and are supported by two or three poles from eight to ten feet high, and about four inches in diameter, upon which several hooks are fixed to hang their clothes and arms on. Thus we see in the story of Judith, that the scymetar of Holofernes was suspended on the props of his tent. The bed and entrance is folded, in the same manner we read of in the habitations of the ancient people of Mesopotamia.

The tents have a conic form, and seldom exceed ten feet in height: they are fastened together by thongs cut out of goat's skin, twisted camel's hair, or slips from the leaves of the palm tree; and at a little distance have the appearance of boats reversed. They keep the water out very well, and are consequently a great refuge in the desert: though from their dark colour, they are far from pleasing to the eye. The chief's tent is always placed in the centre of the camp, and has a greater elevation than the rest; next to this is the one intended for the reception of all strangers who may come to demand hospitality or protection. The camps are generally formed in the shape of a circle or crescent, and the tents in parallel lines: round the whole, a thorny hedge-row is planted. Their flocks are, during the night, placed inside this, while the dogs keep watch outside. One of the tents is left empty to serve for a mosque: to this the children repair at sun-rise every morning, in order to recite a prayer which is engraved on a board suspended from the centre, and afterwards they learn their lesson: which is done with much apparent satisfaction. They then run to embrace their master, who does not treat them like a bombastic pedagogue; but rather as his own children. When the Arabs begin to have a large family,

they provide another tent; and if a son marries, the father is obliged to give him a certain quantity of cattle and grain, to establish himself in the neighbourhood: his furniture consists of a portable mill formed out of two small pieces of granite, a large basket, and two or three pans to soak bread in milk, prepare rice, &c.

A stranger is always well received at the tent of an Arab. Whenever a traveller loses his way in the desert, or is in want of shelter, and sees towards night, a column of smoke, hears the barking of dogs, or lambs bleating; these are sure indications of his being near a Bedouin camp. Towards them he directs his steps: and on approaching the pastor's door, it is immediately opened; and followed up by his receiving the marabbas, or salutation of peace: he is then presented with a bowl of milk and basket of grapes, dried figs and dates: such is the prelude for that night's hospitality. The host soon after, takes a lamb or kid out of the field, slaughters it with his own hand; and when skinned, presents it to his wife, who proceeds to dress a part, reserving some for the *kab-ab*, or broil of the next morning: which is intended for the traveller's breakfast previous to his departure; or if he chooses, it is given to refresh him on his journey. It was thus that the three angels were treated who presented themselves at the Patriarch's tent. "And Abraham ran unto the herd, and fetcht a calf tender and good, and gave it unto a young man, and he hastened to dress it." Gen. xviii.

Upon these occasions, the head of the family is invariably the most officious in his attentions. As it is usually the custom in those regions for travellers to go bare-footed, or only with sandals, on arriving at the hospitable Bedouins, their feet are instantly washed, and ointment presented for the hair; nor does the host sit down to eat with his guest, but remains standing and performing the office of an attendant while he is at table.

It would indeed be extremely difficult to find any people on earth more truly hospitable than the Arab tribes; or amongst whom that fine virtue, the unequivocal proof of liberal sentiments, is exercised with

greater delicacy. An Arab, named Thaleb, had the misfortune of killing the father of the emir Alcasar in a quarrel: the latter, inspired by an implacable spirit of revenge, went out in daily search of the murderer. At length a stranger presented himself and demanded the rites of hospitality; Alcasar treated him with the most assiduous and generous attentions. The following day he went out to pursue the usual search, and returned in the evening, filled with melancholy at the ill success of his endeavours. Shortly after, the visitor enquired the cause of his sadness: when Alcasar declared, that he was looking for a certain Thaleb, who slew his father. "No longer search for your enemy;" replied the stranger, removing a false beard which he had assumed: "the unhappy Thaleb stands before you!" "Oh, Heavens!" exclaimed the astonished emir. "Can it be possible? But you are my guest; take this purse, fly from my dwelling: and I will then determine on what ought to be done." Strangers are perfectly secure in a Bedouin camp; and if, during the night, any insult is offered, the whole tribe is made answerable; and obliged to make full and entire reparation. A traveller, in fact, has less to fear in the midst of this rude people, than when sometimes traversing the most civilized countries of Europe.

It is not the practice to continue more than one night under the tent of an Arab. A little discretion is required; and one cannot well follow the example of the Abbé who wrote to Voltaire, saying, that he intended to pass a month at his chateau, without running the risk of a similar reproof: "you are very unlike Don Quixote: he took inns for castles; but you take castles for inns!" On parting, it is usual for the stranger to present his host with a little gun-powder; which is highly prized by the Bedouins, for priming. A bit of antimony is also given to the young girls, to colour their eyebrows and eyelashes; to the matron a pair of scissars; or some pins and needles are equally acceptable; being quite a treasure to these people, blest as they are with scarcely a single want ungratified! It should, however, be observed, that no donation of any kind is looked for; they merely act

from a spontaneous generosity and religious feeling, strengthened by immemorial custom. From the family of an Arab, vieing with each other in attending to the stranger who takes shelter under their roof, it is not to be wondered at, if he, on leaving them, feels a sentiment of regret and affection. Received with the cordiality shewn by Jacob and Laban to their numerous guests, and reflecting on the extreme simplicity of an Arab entertainment, an European visitor is apt to fancy himself seated in the tent of a patriarch.

When the Arabs have found a spot sufficiently rich to feed their flocks, and ensure their personal security, the tents are pitched, and an encampment formed according to the number of families, from three, to as many hundred tents: these associations or flying camps, are called *Dowars*.

It is generally the custom for each tribe to change its position once a year, in order to afford the ground time to recover from the preceding one's cultivation. If that has been productive, they return to it again; but in every remove it is necessary to have permission from the Dey of Algiers, to whom all those bordering on, or residing in his territory, are obliged regularly to pay a yearly tribute, which amounts to a tenth of all they possess: this requisition is known by the title of *Garam*.

The police regulations are extremely judicious, and well adapted to the Arab's mode of life. Each Dowar is responsible for all the crimes and misdemeanors committed either in sight of the camp, or in its immediate vicinity, no matter who the aggressors may be. By way, however, of mitigating the rigour of this law, the tribe's responsibility ceases with day-light: the impossibility of seeing or preventing what happens during the night, being very properly considered as a just cause of exemption from any charge at that time. The night has no eyes, according to their emphatic mode of expression: in consequence, therefore, of the difficulty which would naturally attend the discovery of any violence done in the dark, the Bedouin makes a point of never setting off on a journey before broad day; and also

of stopping at sun-set. Occasionally, during the hours of repose, the men collect at the sheik's tent, where they pass the time in talking of their horses, voyages, and various feats in arms. In these *soirées*, the chief, seated on the same skin with the meanest of his tribe, enters into every subject of conversation with the utmost familiarity. Notwithstanding this occasional equality, it is to be observed, that the whole party treat him with a marked homage and respect.

The heads of families mount their horses every evening, and proceed to an adjoining meadow, where, forming a circle round the chiefs, a grand council is held, at which all the affairs of the Dowar are freely discussed. The pastoral and warlike simplicity of this assemblage, with only the canopy of Heaven for a covering, and surrounded by the solitudes of the desert, is said to exhibit a spectacle full of grandeur and solemnity.

Some of the tribes neither change their place of abode nor live under tents, but are stationary, inhabiting small villages called *Dascars*. These are composed of huts built of turf, or bricks taken from old ruins, the roofs being formed of straw with a layer of boughs. The same apartment generally serves for bed-room, stable, and hall of audience. There is, however, a corner reserved for the animals; but they often intrude themselves on the family; with whom they appear to live on terms of the greatest intimacy: so much so, indeed, that during the night the calves and goats frequently amuse themselves by walking over the bodies of the sleeping family, or occasional visitant.

The Dascars are by no means so comfortable as the tents of the Dowars, nor do their inhabitants enjoy the same degree of abundance and prosperity. Here all is filth and wretchedness; and in addition to the comfortable reflection of being exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and within the constant hearing of beasts of prey, one is almost devoured by every kind of vermin, which seem to be quite at home in these miserable habitations; where innumerable scorpions are also to be found.

The villages of these people are extremely populous, and during the recent attack, myriads of them descended from the mountains south of Algiers, to witness the engagement. They are naturally much less humanized and generous than the wandering Bedouins: the latter are continually moving about in search of pasturage, and live under a serene sky; while the former are obliged to cultivate the most arid mountains; and often residing on their summits, inhabit the region of tempests.

The African villages are still precisely the same, as they were described to be in the days of antiquity, when they were called *Mapalia* from the Punic word *Mapul*, signifying fixed habitations:

Miratur moles Æneas Mapalia quondam.

And, as in the present day, the people of Numidia, who lived in tents, were considered as a distinct race from those who resided in huts or cabins; in opposition to the latter, the wandering tribes were called Magalia; thus according to Silius Italicus:

Qualia Maurus amat dispersa Magalia pastor,

And Lucan,

Et solitus vacuis errare Magalibus afer.

Each tribe may be considered as a nation; like those of the American savages, and a species of principality having one chief: this officer is called a *sheik;* meaning an elder: he is generally chosen from amongst the oldest of the tribe: and the most distinguished for maturity of judgment, and the practice of virtue, is he whom the Arabs of the desert think most worthy of commanding them. These princes, whose palaces are established wherever their tent is elevated, and carpet spread, administering justice at the foot of a tree, recall those agreeable feelings which are associated with a recollection of remote and happier days,

When tyrant custom had not shackled man,
But free to follow nature was the mode.

Although the Bedouins, like the hordes of Tartary, pursue a

wandering life, and maintain an apparent state of liberty, the idea of establishing a republican form of government never enters their thoughts. Being composed of a horde or tribe, a species of army which requires one directing chief, possessing the supreme will of a monarch, his power has always been exercised with the greatest moderation, while despotism was never admitted. The sheik, seeing his subjects armed, and possessing the power of election, feels the necessity of consulting their inclinations. One of these princes being asked if his people were free, answered, " why should they not, if I as their chief, am so !"

This kind of government is neither elective nor hereditary. There are some families who have governed for centuries; but this they owe to their paternal administration, and to the pleasure which we all feel in obeying those who endeavour to make us happy. Though the son generally succeeds his father, there is no specific right to guarantee such a mode of arriving at power, as both the election and approbation of the people are necessary before the reins of government are assumed. They find it an admirable maxim, to let the government descend in this way from father to son, on condition that the son takes care to merit the esteem of the people. In this case also, the most meritorious member of the family is sure to be preferred.

It often happens, that the same tribe has several minor chiefs, who are under the protection of a more powerful one, called *Sheik el Meiscach;* and it as frequently occurs, that many tribes elect a supreme head, who receives the title of *Sheik el Keeber*, or great master: that of emir, meaning prince, is also common. Leagues are sometimes formed between different emirs, to defend themselves against an ambitious prince or foreign oppression.

If the sheik ill-treats his subjects, or is unfaithful to the principles by which he was called to govern them, neither plots nor revolutions are formed against his person; but he is quietly abandoned by the whole tribe; which proceeds to join another, whose chief receives the new acquisition with open arms, as a sure means of adding to his

power and popularity. The lamentations of the oppressed are heard; but the voice of sedition is silent: many unite and call for justice; but they seldom, except in the last extremity, resort to conspiracy and tumult. A Bedouin can never be persuaded to revolt against the prince, to whom he has sworn fealty and obedience. When the sheik degrades himself to the level of a tyrant, they merely take their leave and abandon him to his own reflections. Many have been thus seen, almost alone in their camp, having lost their whole tribe, in forfeiting those affections, which could have alone ensured their loyalty. I happened, during my rambles in the vicinity of Algiers, to meet one of these unfortunate princes: he was alone, and sitting mournfully under a tree, with his eyes rivetted to the ground, and strong shame and dejection depicted in every feature. Not a single subject, or even friend, remained to sympathize with his forlorn condition. The tribe which had just withdrawn itself from him, were posted on an adjacent eminence; and reminded me of the Roman people assembled on the sacred mount.*

Whenever it becomes necessary to have recourse to arms, the chief of each tribe assembles all who are capable of taking the field, who, one after another, offers his best services to the community; when the whole body join in one common war song, which is followed by immediate preparations for the proposed enterprize. The utmost similarity is said to exist between the wandering Arab sheiks, and many of the North American chiefs, bordering on the Lakes of Canada. Each warrior, besides furnishing two horses and the necessary arms, engages to provide for his own maintenance; and when the Arabs of Barbary are called upon to serve, they instantly obey

* Alluding to that curious and interesting event in the history of Rome, where the populace, seeing the impossibility of obtaining justice from their patrician rulers, determined to abandon the city; and for this purpose withdrew to a rising ground, shewn to this day about two miles outside of the *Portò del Popolo.* The same thing also happened, after Virginia's violation by the Decemvir Appius.—*Ed.*

the invitation. Without any pay whatever, they are contented to rely on their gallantry and exertions for future reward. All are mounted on unshod horses, which they manage with wonderful dexterity. Their chief talents consist in a sudden irruption, or impetuous charge; and in a warfare of ambush or surprize, they may be called the Tyrolese and Cossacks of Africa.

In all affairs of importance, the sheik makes a point of convoking the head of each tent and family, to whose opinions every possible deference is paid. When the interests of several tribes are discussed, a species of congress is formed: not unlike the great Diet of the Tartars, each sheik representing his respective subjects, considering himself rather as the ally than tributary of the *Sheik el Keeber;* who, like the Khan of Tartary, may be regarded as the president of a great warlike assembly, being perfectly satisfied if he can acquire the confidence and esteem of his allies. His opinion, too, generally prevails; as all are fully aware of the purity of his intentions. So true it is, that integrity and virtue are the best means of inspiring public confidence and applause.

Some of the smaller tribes, without tents or cottages, and mounted on their fiery barbs or swift dromedaries, scour the desert in search of booty: these are called the plundering Arabs:—assaulting the caravans, they strip the traveller and immediately disappear. Like most of the descendants of Ishmael, they make robbery a profession. The most independent of mortals, their liberty* consists in making all mankind tributary to their wants and villanies: a maxim which has not been always confined to the plundering Arabs of the desert. It was pretty strongly exemplified in the uniform policy of a certain

* Not many years ago, when the system of liberty and equality was first promulgated, a gentleman hearing some one knock at the door of his anti-chamber, came out before his toilette was completed, and on letting the stranger in, observed, "pray excuse me for receiving you with this *liberty*," i. e. in his chemise!

nation from 1794, until the public opinion of Europe expelled its leader in 1814.*

Of the plundering tribes, the *Sheikies* and *Ababdes*, frequent the track to Senaar; while those of *Cubba Beschis* and *Bedeials*, hover about that of Daufûr: others, near the mountains of Tell and Desert of Angad, are like the *Kundi* and *Turcomans* of Natolia, and Lesguis of the Caucasus. The travellers and warriors of the Crusades, alluded to a nation of assassins, and the celebrated Old Man of the Mountains, towards the foot of Mount Lebanon.

Barbary may also well be called the country of assassins; but the Arabs of the desert are certainly not the worst part of its inhabitants: the truly perfidious, are those who live by piracy on the high

* Mr. Pananti is not so lamentably blinded by party zeal, as to admire Buonaparte; either because it was his fate to be put down by the allied powers whom he had harassed in every imaginable shape for above fifteen years, or in consequence of that confinement on a desolate island, which has been purely the result of his own senseless temerity and unexampled violence as a sovereign.—No! divested of this ruinous bane to patriotism and public virtue, the author, in judging the ex-emperor by his actions alone, could not possibly reconcile one sentiment of praise with a life which seemed exclusively devoted to the gratification of vain glory and personal ambition. With all those philosophic heads, and philanthropic hearts, and they are not a few, with whose opinions I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted, during a late visit to the continent, Mr. P. could only regard Napoleon Buonaparte as one, who, possessing the most unlimited means of becoming truly great, deliberately suffered the golden opportunity to escape, in the little-minded and extravagant project of making Europe subservient to the insatiable rapacity of a military depotism, such as he fatally succeeded in establishing over the volatile and inconsiderate people of France. The reiterated plunders and massacres which marked the sanguinary progress of his armies in Holland, Germany, Russia, the Tyrol, Italy, and Spain, are not quite so easily forgotten on the continent, as they have unfortunately been by the mistaken opinion of some people in this country; while military roads, bridges, and public works, are there considered a very poor compensation for the annihilation of religion, morals, and civil liberty!—It is of the very first importance to the temperate and enlightened friends of order and good government, to know that the great mass of intellectual talent which now irradiates the continental nations, has arisen and been matured by the tremendous lessons furnished during the last twenty-five years. These have taught people the dreadful fallacy of indulging in Utopian schemes of human

seas, and along the coasts of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers; with whom it is vain to expect either law or justice. On the contrary, those Arabs who make a trade of plundering, possess some qualities which tend very materially to soften the iniquity of their callings. Many of them, in assailing the peaceful traveller, will not acknowledge it as robbery: they believe themselves to be the natural proprietors of the desert; and in taking away the property of others, consider it merely as a poll tax, such as ships are in the habit of paying in passing the Sound and Dardanelles. They also believe themselves lineal descendants of Ishmael, who, according to their account, was unjustly disinherited of his patrimony: so that in living upon the public, they are only occupied in revenging past injuries. Condemned to the

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happiness, unsuited to the spirit of the age and progress of civilization. At the same time, that the errors which lead to popular excesses and ultimate revolution, have been fully brought before their eyes. This has led to an universal expression of public sentiment in favour of the representative system, founded upon the long experience of its efficacy in this country, in reconciling the stability of government with the rational freedom of the people. The wisest and most intelligent men in Europe, are unequivocally agreed on this momentous subject; and upon its adoption, they do not hesitate to say, must inevitably depend the future repose of the world. Fearfully alive to all those horrors which follow in the train of re-action and revolution, they look up to their respective sovereigns, and implore this boon with trembling anxiety, knowing it to be vitally identified with the security of the one and happiness of the other. And how flattering to the British nation, is this expression of public feeling on the continent? Witnessing the extraordinary manner in which we have met and finally overcome difficulties that involved the ruin of surrounding states, they merely wish for the adoption of that simple form of government which has enabled us to perform so many apparent miracles. A prey to the most horrible calamities which war and rapine could inflict for so many years, the people of Germany and Italy wish to establish a system of government, which shall for ever preclude the possibility of their return; and they are decidedly of opinion, that this most desirable end is only to be obtained by a free and impartial representation of the people, constituted so as to become the real organ of public opinion. In soliciting the above act of grace and liberality from their respective sovereigns, I am more than satisfied, the continental nations are actuated by no other desire, than that of promoting the only true basis upon which, in an enlightened age, legitimate governments can be securely and permanently established. —*Ed.*

dreary possession of the desert, the plundering tribe consider it as no more than a just retaliation to spoliate those who have usurped the cultivated lands.

They, however, rob without murdering; and if acts of violence take place, and lives are lost, it always arises from resistance on the part of the caravans, who refuse to pay the required tribute. Should they succeed in escaping its payment, the next that passes, if less powerful, is obliged to pay for them: it being a settled maxim with these free-booters, that no circumstances are to interfere with the total amount of their annual revenues. With all the marauding qualities of these people, they possess a species of moral principle, which renders them extremely tractable on some occasions:—although ever on the alert to plunder the rich merchant, they are equally ready to assist the distressed pilgrim.*

When an Arab receives any one for the night, he is placed on the skin which serves the host as a bed: here the stranger is in perfect security; and as observed in another place, the simple ceremony of eating bread and salt with any of the tribes, guarantees you against the whole. A traveller who receives a boy, or young virgin for his guide, may pass in the greatest safety, and has nothing to fear;

* There was once a famous chief of banditti in the Calabrias, called Angiolino del Duca, who combined his predatory system with numerous acts of charity. One day observing a poor countryman, who seemed to be in great tribulation, he enquired what was the cause of his uneasiness; when the peasant informed him, that his landlord was coming the next day, with the officers of justice, to drive him from his farm, in consequence of being in arrears for rent. How much do you owe him? asked Angiolino; six hundred ducats, was the reply. I will lend you that sum, rejoined the robber; and immediately put it into his hands; after which he departed. The inexorable baron soon arrived, and was about to put his threat into execution, when, to his no small surprize, the tenant produced his rent; upon which his landlord went off perfectly reconciled, and highly pleased with the result of his journey. Having approached near a wood that lay on the road, the wily chief rushed forth accompanied by his followers, and was not long recovering something more than his six hundred ducats: thus settling the accounts of all the parties!

purity and innocence being held sacred even in these desolate regions. You may also enter the tents of those very men, by whom you have been recently robbed. They even affect to feel an interest blended with pity for your misfortunes, often in the course of your narrative, repeating, *God is merciful!* Another dress is thrown over the unfortunate traveller, while his own is seen hanging up on the next hook! and he takes his leave, covered with the benedictions of those very robbers who may be destined to plunder him the following day!—Such is the systematic order of robbery in the desert. When a traveller is surprized, with treasures in his possession, the *son of Agar's son* must have his proportion;—it not being consonant to justice, according to their ideas, that one man should be rich and another poor.

Thieves have, in every age, been distinguished for the utmost equity as far as words go. They do not tell you to proceed and rob, but to go and gain. Many who have for years successfully followed up the trade of picking pockets, are now-a-days suffered to be quietly at large, to glory in the plundered wealth of the community; while a still greater number, who have been enriched by the rapacity of war, return with the blood of their slaughtered enemies, yet reeking, and proudly boast of having performed their duty! By far the greatest robbers do not, in fact, say, let us go to invade and conquer, but for the laudable purpose of avenging our injured rights!

CHAPTER X.

Description of the Moors.—Their Figure and Character.—Male and Female Costume.—Head Dress and Toilet.—Habitations.—Particular Manners and Customs.—Marriages amongst the Moors.—Funerals.—Condition of Widows, &c.

THE Moors, who compose a very large proportion of the population of Barbary, are far from being the most amiable: there is something harsh and ominous in their physiognomy, extremely repulsive to an European.

The excesses in which they are so apt to indulge, enervates their body, and destroys their courage. That blood which is impoverished by dissoluteness, seldom gives much animation to the possessor: their limbs are rather slender and well-shaped, but they have generally more agility than vigour; and are better adapted for pedestrian exercise than the labours of agriculture. They have fine eyes, and good teeth; together with tolerably regular features; but their countenance is never enlivened by a noble thought, or generous sentiment: it rather expresses the fire of ardent and gloomy passion. In them the eye seldom beams forth that softness and placidity which distinguish a fine soul. A quivering lip, the emblem of disdain and falsehood, is more often seen. Theirs is the smile of death; and it is perhaps the risible faculty, which is, above all others, most calculated to betray the internal operations of the human mind.

They are amazingly patient under pain and suffering. The manner in which a Moor bears punishment, I will not compare to stoical firmness, but it is the cold ferocity of a savage. While nailed to a

pillar by the ears and feet, one of these people has been known tranquilly to call for a pipe! Another, whose hand is chopped off, will take it up and run away. They are endowed with excellent memories; but it only serves to make them remember old offences, and perpetuate animosities. Their spirit and penetration is also employed for the purposes of perfidy and treason. The Moor's predominant passion consists in the gratification of sensual appetite, avarice, and ambition: without public spectacles, society, or a love of study, he furiously throws himself into a sea of voluptuousness and debauchery. His avarice too, is incredible: amongst a variety of proverbs, strongly characteristic of these people, there is one which says, "vinegar that is given, is preferable to honey which is bought;" and, "a Moor will allow an eye to be taken from him, to get at a crown piece!" The less, however, they can shew their riches, the less they enjoy them: so that they are mostly intent on accumulating. There is scarcely a single father of a family who dies without leaving a treasure to his son. This is certainly some little excuse in their favour. In the course of those continued acts of violence, to which they are subjected by the government, confiscation and death is ever present to their eyes: it is therefore always convenient to have wherewithal, not only to secure their personal retreat, but to leave behind the means of supporting their family: this gives rise to the universal practice of burying large sums of specie under ground; and is also a good reason why those who have most hard cash, are considered the richest. As might naturally be expected, this insatiable thirst of gold, renders the Moor cunning, hypocritical, and false to his promises. They abhor strangers, the descendants of those who were driven from Spain, they have retained the same ferocious hatred towards other sects. They are also persecutors amongst themselves: families are divided and societies disturbed: mixing but little with each other, they are full of diffidence and egotism. Living under the worst of tyrannies, they are vile and trembling: nor do they hesitate descending to every species of humiliation, whenever any thing is to be got by it. With equals, they use a vulgar familia-

rity, and are neither brave nor generous. The natural ferocity of their character is not tempered by any of that noble intrepidity which distinguishes some savage nations. The Moor acts from a sudden impulse or violent transport; which they call fantasy; in other words, caprice or phrenzy: during the operation of which, they are capable of the greatest excesses—revenge seems to ferment in their hearts, while their natural element is hatred.

From a state of high civilization, the Moors have fallen into a barbarism, worse than they were probably ever in before. They are like old wine, of which nothing is left but the dregs; and have all the vices, without any of the Arab's virtues: in fact, their character combines the blind superstition of the blacks, with the impetuous passions of the Saracens.

Nothing can be more singular than this baleful activity of the Moors, in the midst of their sedentary, effeminate, and unoccupied life; in which indolence and indifference appear, at first sight, to be the prevailing impetus: particularly, as it relates to the injustice and severity of their government; but the former may be compared to a hidden volcano, which only requires the operation of nature to bring it into action. If the Moor can be said to possess one solitary virtue, it will be found rather in the justice of his notions, than the rectitude of his heart. They are said to perform some good actions, such as giving much away in charity; but to sensibility, they are total strangers: they will assist an idle mendicant, but they are incapable of soothing an oppressed spirit, or mingling their tears with those of an unfortunate fellow creature. Hardened by the dogma of fatalism, to be afflicted at the miseries of another, or shed a tear for his sorrows, is by the inexorable Moor, regarded as weak, and even criminal. While, however, they are so eminently false and deceitful, they contrive to assume an air of openness, always speaking with affected sincerity and candour. Whenever any argument arises, wherein their moral rectitude is called in question, they address the Christian in their *Lingua Franca, Mi andar dritto, ti andar torto; mi non par-*

lare che quel che sentire; mi avere in bocca quello che aver nello cuore! Men are said to be sometimes known by trifles: there have been persons too, who fancied they could tell a man's character from the style of his hand-writing, the way in which he walked, or some particular gestures and movements:—others, carrying the refinement still farther, supposed that important inferences may be drawn from the letter of the alphabet a person pronounces in laughing. But the most ingenious remark I have heard of in this way, was that of M. Neckar, on the phrases which he calls *parasites*, peculiar to most people; and constantly repeated by them in conversation. He has very shrewdly observed, that the speaker has generally a totally different meaning in view, from that endeavoured to be communicated by his favourite expression; because he who is aware of his defect or weak side, makes use of it more frequently than any other; not only for the purpose of deceiving others, but also himself—as people endeavour to conceal bodily deformity.

The experience furnished by a knowledge of most men of depraved characters, proves the entire justice of this remark.—The false and designing will always tell you,—"*I speak with my usual candour on such occasions.*"—The eternal talker, continually repeats—"*one word more and I have done!*" The miser who would suffer himself to be skinned for a farthing, says,—"*My dear friend, you know this is not my money!*" The man who is made up of ceremony and etiquette, will say,—"*Sans complimens; I hate ceremony!*" He who annoys you with his ceaseless nonsense, says,—"*I am sorry to be troublesome.*" The croaker informs us, "*that things cannot possibly be worse than they are!*" He who suffers the whole world to trifle with and insult him, vociferates—"*I am a man of character, and no one shall insult me with impunity.*" The credulous dupe,—"*No! No! I am not to be taken in quite so easily as you imagine!*" A man whose heart is like ice, is sure to say,—"*I know I have too much feeling;*" and the pander calls every one his "*very dear friend!*" While the Moors betray and deceive,

they squeeze your hand; wishing to appear all honey, and that their hearts are formed in the tenderest mould. But, beware of that mask which discloses too much of the visage!

Some have observed, that in proportion to the neatness and cleanly appearance of any nation, we may judge of the degree of civilization to which they have arrived. If the Moors conformed to the precepts of Mahomet, they would, as far as this criterion goes, be the most cultivated people on earth; but they are very far from doing so, with regard to their personal cleanliness and general mode of dress. Although their heads are shaved, a high value is set on the beard, which they are always smoothing down and dividing with the greatest care and gravity. A small lock of hair is also left on the top of the head. The dress of the great consists in the *caftan;* a long robe reaching down below the knee; over this there is a jacket richly embroidered with gold and silver, long trowsers, and a black or white bernousse; together with yellow and red boots or slippers. The band for their loins is generally very long, and they seldom wear stockings. The head is bound round with several fine veils. Those who are desirous of being thought very wise and dignified, take particular pains to exhibit a flaming head-dress; for the higher a man's rank is, the more clothes he puts on. They are respected in proportion to the number of dresses they can conveniently carry; and these are sometimes so numerous, as to preclude the possibility of their having a free use of their limbs. This part of the Moorish manners has no small share in contributing to their apathy and indolence; while the only advantage they derive from it, is an appearance of stupid gravity without effect or meaning: yet they are perfectly satisfied if it inspires a little more respect in the multitude. Those who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca, called *El Hatech,* are exclusively allowed to wear a turban; the rest cover their heads with red caps and twisted veils, as above noticed.

There is great simplicity of dress observed at Fez and Morocco, while the utmost luxury prevails amongst the Algerines and

Tunisians, whose women are covered with gold and jewels. In despotic countries like these, where revolutions and the consequent fall of great men are so frequent, and where the tyrant can at any moment possess himself of every thing, it is a favourite policy to enrich the women, because their property by the Mahometan laws cannot be touched.

The Moorish females in this country wear cloth in winter, and silk in summer: their robes, called *jubas*, are made like tunics, being entirely covered with the richest embroidery, and thickly garnished with precious stones. Various colours are selected for the jubas, so that one side is sometimes yellow, and the other blue: a fashion which pleases the Barbary belles exceedingly. They also wear beautifully worked slippers; and on the head, a cap called *confil*, which is fancifully tied on with a handkerchief. Rich bracelets are worn on the wrists, and large gold rings ornament the ancles:—the ear-rings are also of the most splendid description. These being in the form of a crescent, are often five inches at least in circumference, and nearly as large as the little finger.

In order to accustom the ladies to such heavy ear-rings, after the ear has been perforated, a small roll of paper is introduced every day until a date stone can pass; it is then large enough to receive the ring. Over the caftan, a crimson velvet band, having a gold or silver border, is worn; and when travelling, they are shaded from the sun by large straw hats. One day in each week, the women visit the public bath, when it is customary to dress themselves out in the greatest splendor.—On these occasions they put on a large vest, richly embroidered with gold; and over the breast, a caftan of fine cloth or velvet, which is tied behind; and the ends of it hanging down to the middle, with a profusion of curling tresses, presents a very fine effect. Some wear a ribbon embroidered with gold, and studded with pearls:—this goes round the forehead, like a diadem. The Moors feel flattered in displaying to their neighbouring friends, the opulence and luxury manifested in the magnificent costume of their wives and concubines, while taking the air on the terraces.

The ceremony of dressing, occupies a Moorish lady nearly all day. When one of rank goes to the toilet, she is attended by several female slaves, all of whom are occupied in their respective departments: one tinges the eye-brows, another combs the hair; while a third prepares the veils, a fourth scatters otto of roses over her clothes and person. Above all, the arrangement of the hair is the principal concern: it is divided into two separate tresses, these are profusely scented and then powdered with ground cloves. The hair of a Moorish Venus, together with its gold chains and other ornaments, sometimes give such a size to the whole *coiffure*, that it is with extreme difficulty she is able to move.

When the females pay visits, they are wrapped up in a *haik*, which covers the whole body, and is so arranged about the head, as to be removeable at pleasure; and enable them to see without being seen. While on the terrace, the Christian is enabled occasionally to see the forbidden fruit: but in the streets, the Moorish woman is merely a moving mass, without either shape or feature.

What a striking contrast is here exhibited to European modes, which almost approach to a state of nudity, and invite colds and consumptions, which often lead the credulous votaries of fashion to an untimely grave. The first care of a provincial lady who arrives in London, is to call in a dashing dress-maker: the latter's appearance is sure to bring forth an appropriate dissertation on the awkward costume of the country. Addressing herself more immediately to the new customer, she exclaims: "For Heaven's sake, ma'am, take off those sprawling long gloves: nature intended these soft and delicate arms of yours to be seen, and not concealed in this clumsy manner. Away with that veil, which besides hiding a beautiful pair of black eyes, will make people think you are ashamed of your rosy cheeks. Laud, what a number of petticoats! Why you look more like a woolpack, than one of our light and frisky town lasses. Fashions like those were never known since the days of Queen Bess: one garment, and that of the slightest

gauze reaching a little below the knees, is quite enough now-a-days!" Having brought the novice into her liberal ideas on the subject of dress, and reduced her superfluous drapery to the prevailing standard, the interview closes with a flattering panegyric on the graceful figure, and fascinating air of her new pupil. "Now, indeed, you are something like the mark! Now one can see a little of your shape; and take my word for it, you are not five minutes on the Mall, before a host of admirers will follow with eagerness to watch your majestic gait, and revel in the piercing glances of your eye."

The Moorish habitations, though generally neat, and sometimes even magnificent in their interior arrangement, have externally a very forbidding aspect; owing no less to their total want of ornament, than to the circumstance of there being no windows towards the street. All have a square court in the centre, surrounded by columns, and a door on each side leads to four spacious apartments. The roofs are flat, serving the useful purposes of receiving the rain water, which descends from thence into cisterns, drying linen, and taking the air. The harem is always in the rear of the building, and instead of windows in front, there is merely a grated balcony, to which the family can only have access during a *zeenak* or solemn festival. The houses are rather low, never exceeding two stories. There is usually a fountain playing in the court-yard; and the floors are mostly composed of marble slabs, imported for that purpose from Italy. Both these additions to the houses in Barbary, are great sources of convenience, in so warm a climate. Near the females' apartments, sacred to all but the husband, are the *salemok*, or rooms appropriated to the males; the master, his sons, and domestics, having all separate chambers. The victuals are prepared in small earthen stoves, which are placed in the court: these, neatly whitewashed, and terminating in little cupolas, give a very graceful effect to each angle of the dwelling. The extreme similarity between the houses of Barbary, and those of Herculaneum and Pompeii, has often excited the astonishment of travellers.

Independent of the cooling promenade afforded by the terrace, it

frequently becomes the scene of mirth and festivity; ladders are also kept, by means of which, neighbours are enabled to visit each other without the necessity of descending into the street. The law of Algiers obliges each housekeeper to white-wash his dwelling once a year: as this regulation extends to the interior as well as the outside walls, it not only contributes very materially to general health, but gives a constant appearance of cleanliness to the buildings. It is truly singular, that with such indifference to personal comfort, the Moors should be so very scrupulous about that of their houses, into the apartments of which they do not even enter without taking off their slippers!

With all their attention to internal convenience, there is never an unnecessary display of luxury in the furniture of a Moorish habitation: a French clock, two or three looking-glasses, a few rich carpets, some beds or sofas in each corner of the room, cushions along the sides, and light curtains to the windows, which look into the court-yard; are all that is required to furnish a house in Algiers. The walls have neat cornices, upon which various Arabic characters are sculptured; they have also a method of varnishing the tiles as in Holland; which I am inclined to believe is originally of Arabic invention. The beds consist of hard mattrasses, and feather pillows: these are merely laid on a mat, and rolled up every morning. Some, however, make a practice of using their bed as a sofa during the day: as in the Arab's tents, the Moor's wardrobe is hung up on hooks round the apartment in which he sleeps. Strangers are received in a small closet at the entrance of the house, where the master usually transacts all his business. In very hot weather, he is seated outside the door on a mat, where those who come to see him, either for ceremony or otherwise, are also invited to sit down. But the natural jealousy of a Moor will scarcely ever induce him to admit any one, except the members of his own family to enter those apartments which are nearest the harem.*

* During my visits to Tunis I was more fortunate, and had the distinguished honor of being very frequently invited to Moorish houses, particularly that of Mahomed Coggia,

In the cultivation of their land, the Moors have a plough like that used in the south of Spain, in which there is no iron; they have also the same kind of cars with wheels cut out of one solid block of wood. The country people bring fruit, vegetables, straw, and other materials to market in a kind of net, which is thrown over their camel or horse's back. It is remarkable how much Spanish customs resemble those of Barbary, while the latter are in numerous instances very similar to others in Spain.*

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where I have often dined *tête à tête* with his excellency. On these occasions he sat on the floor, while I was indulged with a velvet cushion. The table, which was only large enough to contain one dish at a time, was elevated about eighteen inches from the ground. After the ceremony of washing the hands, cuscousu was brought in, and on being removed, was followed in rapid succession by seven or eight more very savoury dishes. Although a knife and fork were usually laid for me, I determined not to forget the old maxim, and invariably substituted my fingers! By the way of recompensing this proof of condescension, a bottle of excellent claret was regularly placed at my side. When asked to visit his country house, I generally met three or four of his friends; where the repast, with the exception of fried mullet just taken at the Goletta, did not differ much from the above; and wine was equally abundant. In the town house, I recollect we had to pass by the door of the harem, in which there was a small grated aperture; but a loud warning on entering the house gave the ladies time to retire. Had I not been so impressed and absorbed by the political importance of what was passing in Barbary, when stationed at Tripoly and Tunis; and even seriously thought of publishing an account of those regencies, it was difficult for any one to have had a better opportunity of detailing their manners and customs than myself; and I have since regretted not entering more minutely into the subject. My opinion of Mahomed Coggia will be found in the second volume of my Letters from the Mediterranean, p. 220. It has been since gratifying to find, that I did not over-rate his talents and virtues, which are certainly great for a Mahometan: having continued to enjoy the highest dignities in Tunis, ever since I left it in 1811: not by those fawning and versatile qualities which sometimes lead to power, but a steady and consistent discharge of public duty.—*Ed.*

* For some very ingenious remarks on the national character of Spain, and those peculiarities which make it so totally different from the rest of Europe, the reader is referred to the Abbé de Pradt's interesting *Mémoires* on the late contest of Buonaparte, to subjugate the people of that country. In p. 168, of the Abbé's book, he shrewdly observes: " C'est une erreur de la géographie que d' avoir attribué l'Espagne à l'Europe; elle appartient à l' Afrique: Sang, mœurs, langage, manière de vivre et de combattre, en Espagne tout est Africain."—*Ed.*

When a Moorish lady goes into the country, she is enclosed in a species of cage or pavilion made of osier twigs, and surrounded with an extremely fine gauze, through which the air freely circulates, and she can see those who are outside, without the latter's being allowed the same privilege with regard to her. This curious vehicle, generally large enough to carry two females, is secured on a horse or camel, and a slave usually employed as conductor.

There are very few mendicants to be seen in Barbary: the religious obligations on Mussulmen to be charitable, no less than their apparent inclination to give alms, together with the natural abundance of the soil, all unite to preclude the possibility of much individual misery. In bestowing charity on a Moor, one should, however, be careful like themselves, to make no promises of future relief; otherwise, nothing less than all you possess will satisfy the avidity of an African beggar, as past favours are, with him, only a prelude to his soliciting others. Every time a poor man dines at your table, he thinks his company necessary on the following day; and if you make a present, its frequent repetition is considered as a right, which the importunate mendicant will expect to receive from your heirs and successors: if once charitable, you must be always so.

A Greek merchant having given a handsome donation to a cripple, whom he observed lying in the street; the latter followed on his crutches to heap blessings on his benefactor: placing himself on the spot near which the merchant used to pass, he received something for several succeeding days. No sooner had these reiterated proofs of generosity gone abroad, than all united in applauding the Greek's munificence, and prayers were offered up for the success of his undertakings. He was soon after obliged to make a journey into Egypt, the mendicant continued regularly to appear at his post, and whenever the merchant's domestic passed, he was sure to enquire after his master, and with uplifted hands, repeated a prayer for his safe return. After a few months this wished for event took place, to the no small joy of the beggar; and on seeing him, the merchant, anxious

to reward his apparent satisfaction, and many felicitations, was preparing to give him another proof of benevolence; upon this, the mendicant looked at him, but refused his proffered gift, at the same time observing, that it would be much better to pay up all the arrears at once. To this unlooked for appeal, the Greek naturally replied, that he did not understand him. The beggar then informed him, that having been absent six months, his former allowance of a real per day, now amounted to one hundred and eighty, which sum he claimed as a lawful debt! The astonished Greek was at a loss, whether he ought to laugh at, or chastise this matchless piece of impudence, and departed; but the beggar lost no time in having recourse to the Dey, to whom he stated, that for a whole month previous to the Greek's quitting Algiers for Egypt, he received a real every day from him in charity; and had, ever since, prayed for his health and prosperity: the consequence of which was, that the merchant's speculations had all been crowned with complete success; that having been accustomed to receive his real every morning, he left off work: and on the Greek's quitting Algiers, without any intimation of discontinuing the allowance, he had ever since attended in the same place, to enquire after his health, and implore Heaven for his happy return; and, relying on the liberality he had already experienced at the merchant's hands, he had even contracted debts for his maintenance. The Greek did not deny the fact of his giving the alms before he left the city, but contended for its having been merely an act of discretionary charity. The affair was, however, seriously examined and discussed by his highness: it concluded, by the merchant's being not only obliged to pay the hundred and eighty reals, but an additional piastre, for reproaching the beggar with the unreasonableness of his demand: he was then permitted to declare his determination not to continue this kind of *pension* any longer!

Inferiors, on approaching the great, kiss their hand, while equals embrace: the Moor generally swears by the laws,—mosque, his

beard, and the prophet's head. Rank derived from birth is never much considered under despotic governments, like those of Barbary. Where all personal dignity and splendor arises from the post a man occupies, the sole distinction is that of being in place; and this is so identified with the nature of the office, that it very seldom extends to the individual: so that the highest situations do not add to the rank or pre-eminence of the person's family, who may happen to occupy them for the time being. Under absolute and capricious rulers, there can only be imperceptible gradations of rank between the governed, as its immediate creation and fall entirely depends on the prejudice and caprice of a single person. This is one of the reasons why genealogy is considered as a matter of perfect indifference in this country.

Without the father's name, which they are in the habit of adding to their own, it is probable, many would not know by what epithet he ought to be distinguished in the world: in match-making, and the formation of all family connection, the extent of fortune and degree of favour enjoyed at the Dey's palace, is all that people consider. A Cadi does not hesitate to give his daughter in marriage to an artizan, provided it appears to suit his worldly interests. The Moors frequently add the name of the town or place they were born in to their own, as: *Abu, Salech, Aly, Mahomed, El Basri, &c.* If to these be added their titles and dignities, together with the many virtues which adorn them in their own opinion, not forgetting sanctity of manners, to which a Mahometan of the Moorish tribe seldom forgets to lay in his claim, they would be little inferior to those of the Spanish nobles, to whom the people of northern Africa are justly compared in various other particulars.

The manners and customs of Barbary do not, upon the whole, present a very wide field to excite the curiosity or enquiry of travellers; and besides the great difficulty of becoming intimately acquainted with them through the accidental opportunities which occasionally present themselves, in all that relates to social life,

the Koran has given a character of the utmost uniformity to the customs and modes of living in Mahometan countries.

Although often betrothed in their earliest infancy, the marriages in Barbary are not celebrated until the age of twelve or thirteen; at which period, according to one of their poets,—"The rose-bud expands, to imbibe the vivifying rays of love."

When the fathers of the intended couple agree on a match, a meeting takes place between the families of both, when the conditions of the marriage are mutually settled. The Moors of the mountainous districts in Algiers, follow the practice of the Nasamones on those occasions, that of the bridegroom's holding the cup to the lips of his intended, while she performs the same office to him.* To this is added a promise of reciprocal fidelity: little more than the above is necessary to tie the matrimonial knot in Barbary. The parent cedes his child to the absolute controul and possession of her husband: and as to the dowry, which forms so important a concern in our choice of a partner, it is scarcely spoken of amongst the Moors. The brides of this country have rarely any thing more than their wardrobes, a few diamonds, and some mattrasses; all of which being packed on a camel, is paraded about the city in great pomp, previous to their entering the dwelling of their future master.

It very seldom happens that two young people are consulted as to their mutual inclinations before a marriage is decided on by the parents; and there have been frequent instances in which they never saw each other until the wedding-day. The bridegroom has no other means of ascertaining the beauty or attractions of his intended wife, than by enlisting some cunning old female in his cause: she is enabled to visit the bride at home, and also to meet her at the bath. Upon these occasions, the emissary is generally charged with a tender message, and rich *bouquet* of roses. The lover is besides very atten-

* I have frequently seen this curious species of endearment practised amongst the Spanish peasantry: nor is it altogether unknown in the higher walks of life.—*Ed.*

tive in observing his fair one, as she goes to the mosque; drawing the most important inferences of manners and character from her mode of walking, and various other gestures while abroad. This method of studying the human mind, is carried very far in Barbary, and generally leads to some very accurate conclusions.

A great female sovereign of the north, wishing to marry her son to one of three daughters, the offspring of a German princess, invited all of them to her court for the purpose of making the choice herself. Happening to be at the window of her palace when the visitors arrived, she had an opportunity of seeing the three sisters alight from their carriage, the eldest, by a false step, got her clothes entangled, and fell; the second descended with an air of unaffected ease and dignity; while the third sprang to the ground without touching the vehicle, and seemed to fly up the stairs which led to the vestibule. The first who attempted to alight, was considered by her majesty, as uniting very little activity, with great awkwardness of manner; the youngest she thought too lively and volatile: she therefore selected the second, from whose method of leaving the carriage, grace appeared to be combined with gentleness and decorum: nor had she afterwards any cause to regret her choice.

The passions inspired by this fugitive mode of merely seeing each other for a moment, and then disappearing, often become extremely violent. "Love," says an African poet, "which increases by slow degrees, passes from the eyes to the heart, as the water of fountains descends into rivers; while that passion which is awakened by the first sight of a beautiful object, may be compared to those torrents which are precipitated from the mountains where no rain has fallen."

A few days before the marriage is celebrated, the bridegroom rides about the town to the sound of drums and fifes, and a number of friends accompany him; some carrying banners, and others occasionally discharging their muskets into the air. On the wedding-day he takes another round, at which still greater ceremony is observed. On this occasion he is better attended. and covered by a red cloak,

with a fine sabre hung at his side. There is also a veil thrown over his face to prevent the operation of the evil eye. Three days previous to the celebration, the bride is conducted to the bath, which is repeated every succeeding one, until the marriage takes place: on that occasion, all the relatives and friends being assembled, the husband repeats a prayer before them, and then proceeds to join the bride, who is in her apartment: they are now declared man and wife by means of certain forms of prayer which are recited by the husband, and *Imans*, who are in attendance. After this all the company, except the bride's mother or next relatives, retire; upon which the lady appears, with her face uncovered to her husband, for the first time, in the presence of those persons who remain behind to witness the last ceremony of their union. Having feasted his eyes for a little time, the bridegroom withdraws to his own house; and about nine in the evening, the whole of those who were present at the marriage, accompany the bride to her husband's dwelling. The lady's father is alone absent on this occasion; it being thought indecorous for him to appear at this last assemblage of the happy couple's friends. However short the distance to the bridegroom's house, the bride is conducted there on horseback, but enclosed in a pavilion, such as that already described. Several lighted torches precede and follow the cavalcade; and on being introduced by her relatives, great care is taken that she does not touch the threshold of her husband's door,—that being considered as a bad omen. On the bridegroom coming down to receive her at the door, the whole party take their leave, with the exception of a few females, who remain to officiate as bridal nymphs. These contrive to amuse the bride with various love tales, while undressing her; and that done, conclude by an amorous ditty in praise of matrimony, &c.

As amongst the ruder nations of southern Africa, the proofs of virginity are also carried about the city in triumph. This is so essential in Barbary, that when not clearly ascertained, the bridegroom is not only at liberty to send the lady back to her father, but

the latter is covered with shame, for having so badly superintended the honor of his daughter.

When a Moor dies, his favourite wife inherits a third of his property: if she dies first, a similar privilege is enjoyed by the husband: but during their lives, the property of each is not common to both. On the death of a father, the legitimate offspring receive an equal proportion, while the children of concubines only come in for a fourth. Males are supported at the father's expence until the age of seven; during which time, they are nevertheless, under the mother's charge, when they are transferred to the father, if she does not like to retain them any longer: in this case, she undertakes to provide for their future support. The females remain with the mother until they are married. In Barbary a man can take a new wife to himself, three days after having repudiated the last; while the female must remain single three months. The husband can at all times discard his wife, but he is required to return what is called her *saddok*, or dowry and wardrobe. In the event of changing his mind, he cannot take her back, until she has married another; who, having enjoyed all the rights of a husband, goes through the ceremony of repudiating her in his turn: she is then allowed to rejoin her former spouse. The extreme facility with which the Mahometans are allowed to dissolve marriages, has, amongst its various other evils, introduced the practice of people's marrying without any previous knowledge of each other's disposition or character: thus making that sacred obligation a matter of convenience, to gratify momentary feelings of libertinism. Sympathy, esteem, or conformity of sentiments, are out of the question in these connections. Matrimony has been compared to a chain: if not made a tender tie by mutual concord, to the women of Barbary it is a wretched fetter; while the men regard it as imposing no obligation whatever. The contempt in which women are held, added to the facility of procuring fresh objects of gratification whenever they please, has led to an habitual indulgence of the most abominable excesses amongst this infamous race; and such is the danger of mak-

ing vice familiar, that their depravity is publicly acknowledged with no less boldness than effrontery.

Experience has long proved, that polygamy, which Mahomet has recommended to his followers, as the greatest perfection of a Musselman's life, is not only inimical to the increase of population, but ruinous to domestic happiness of every kind, and that unanimity which can alone secure the tranquillity of parents and children. The prophet has proved himself a bad reasoner, in saying, that "the more you draw out of the well, the more water it yields:" women, on the contrary, soon find it dried up.

Some have maintained, that it is not contrary to the law of nature to possess four wives; because in the population of Asia and Africa, there are, upon an average, four women to each man. It is added, that the females are marriageable at twelve years of age, though still retaining all the manners of children: thus they are only capable of gratifying the passions, without contributing to the society of a husband; and when at twenty-five, they should become agreeable companions, their fecundity and personal charms disappear. In Europe, where a female at the age of thirty or forty, frequently retains the graces of person, improved by those of the mind, she is often more acceptable than an inexperienced girl, to a man of sentiment: while in Africa and the East, men are content to pass the most valuable years of their lives, with women whom they cannot love, for the mere pleasure of sensual gratification. Hence the necessity of taking a second wife, while the first superintends the domestic concerns, and education of her children. But despotism has had recourse to other reasonings in support of this unnatural system: amongst the rest, it arrogates a degree of savage glory, from lowering and despising the weaker sex.

It is true, that taking the whole mass of the Moorish population, there are not many who avail themselves of the dangerous privilege of taking a second wife; for the conditions annexed to it, are so numerous, as to prevent most people from fulfilling them. A man is

obliged first to prove before the Cadi, that he can support an additional female according to her rank in life, and to which she has been accustomed. Some, possessing ample means, avoid having recourse to polygamy from motives of economy, and to prevent the discordance which is sure to arise from a plurality of wives. Although allowed to take as many concubines as they please, it is in the legitimate wife's power to dismiss them whenever she thinks proper: if she does not take advantage of this liberty, care is taken to be constantly on the alert, so that the new favourite shall not gain too great an ascendancy over the mind of her husband. If any favour is accorded to him by the concubine, his wife takes care to keep the merit of such condescension to herself.

As might be expected, it is scarcely possible to describe with what warm interest a Moorish woman listens to an account of our customs with regard to her own sex; and how she envies that tender consideration in which the females of Europe are held; also the feeling manner in which they lament their melancholy fate whenever they visit the consuls' wives, or those of other Christian residents. These visits are generally devoted to a recapitulation of all their unmerited sufferings, the coldness of their husbands, and innumerable hardships to which they are exposed in the harem. But of all our institutions, none is more applauded by these unhappy victims, than that of our only being able to marry and blend our destiny with one wife. They believe the women of Europe to be on this account infinitely more happy; and very properly, that the men are still more so. According to a German poet, he that possesses four wives is fortunate; but the man who has only *one*, is a demi-god!

CHAPTER XI.

Funeral Ceremonies and Lamentations over the Dead in BARBARY.—*Mourning of Widows.—Vows of Friendship and Fidelity made on the Graves of departed Relatives.—Table of the Moors.—Cuscousu.—Pillaw and Basseen.—Use of Sugar and Spices.—Yemen Coffee.—Amusements of the Moors.—Method of enticing Birds.—Chess, and other Games of Chance.—Social Meetings.—The Kiosco.—Barbers' Shops.—Moorish Baths.—Mode of Bathing.—Baths frequented once a Week by the Women.—Singers, and Dancing Girls.—Itinerant Story Tellers.—The Bastinado.—Life of the rich Moor.*

AS in most other countries, there is also great apparent sorrow evinced in Barbary when any one dies. No sooner is an event of this nature announced, than several women with dishevelled hair and every symptom of grief, rush into the house of the deceased, clasping their hands and uttering loud cries of despair. When these have subsided a little, one of the party, generally an old female acquaintance, pronounces a laboured eulogy on the merits of her departed friend: this is immediately followed by a renewal of the previous sobbings and lamentations. On the coffin, which is formed in the shape of an oblong square, being brought in, all the women put their heads into it. This ceremony is accompanied by increased mourning, and soon after two females come in with lighted tapers and bunches of flowers, which are strewed over the coffin. The body being wrapped up in a winding sheet, is placed in it; and followed to the grave by the whole assembly, is consigned to its final home in the midst of their wailings.* If a widow is left to deplore

* The subject of Moorish funeral rites is very minutely detailed in Tully's Narrative, vide p. 90; where the reader will find some extremely curious facts related.—*Ed.*

the loss of her husband, she is instantly surrounded by a large circle of sympathizing friends, who absolutely overwhelm her with consolation, until she is frequently obliged to withdraw from their further assiduities. Numberless lives have been sacrificed in Mahometan countries, from the extraordinary practice of hastening to inter bodies almost immediately after animation appears to be suspended.

This barbarous custom arises from an idea, that the felicity of the next world, does not commence till the corpse is under ground: so that no sooner has it been washed, and a composition of various essences or camphor put into the ears and nostrils, but the coffin is brought, and the funeral takes place. And in proceeding to the grave, the Moors get there as fast as they possibly can, assigning as a reason, that the angel of justice is waiting to receive the soul of the deceased. The graves of men are distinguished by a turban, while that of a female is ornamented with a large nosegay of the finest flowers. After the burial a profusion of meat and other refreshments are distributed to the friends who have attended: this is called the repast of the sepulchre.

The more any one is afflicted at the death of a relation or friend, the greater is his neglect and indifference to dress and person. While the mourning lasts, every kind of superfluous indulgence and ornament is suppressed: looking-glasses, jewels, and perfumes are alike neglected. A widow of rank changes her band richly set with precious stones, for a simple piece of white ribbon, while the clothes she wears are purposely soiled to give her a greater appearance of mourning. She also goes down to the beach, if living near the sea: and seated on a rock, arranges her hair, discomposed by the recent loss, with a golden comb, procured for the occasion. At the end of four months and ten days, she returns to the spot with the identical comb, and four fresh eggs; the latter of which, is given to the first person she meets, who cannot refuse them, although they are supposed to carry away all the afflictions of the donor: and the comb is thrown into the sea. She is then, and not before, at liberty to marry again.

Every Friday the parents and relatives of a person recently deceased, visit his tomb, in the belief that on the above day, the spirits of the dead hover about it, to converse with each other concerning the objects of their affections left behind on earth. It is sometimes customary with the Moors to dress and adorn the dead body, so that it shall not make a contemptible figure on being introduced to the great assembly of spirits. The graves are covered with smooth mortar, and frequently whitewashed; flowers are also cultivated round them, while care is taken to root up all the noxious herbs or plants found in their vicinity. The oath of friendship and fidelity is often taken over the grave of a newly buried friend. This ceremony consists of swearing by the altar of the prophet, and sepulchres of their lost friends, and then making a wound in each other's arms; whence the blood flows into a bowl, and mixes in sign of amity and reconciliation. Thus in the wilds, and impenetrable woods of North America, the savages select a tempestuous day, and hanging up the bones of their departed friends to the highest branches, the most sacred treaties and alliances are made: while the whitened remains are agitated to and fro by the storm, the venerated shades of their former possessors are invoked, and no doubt is entertained of the Great Spirit's being present at this solemn feast of souls, as it is called. It is also common in the islands of the South Sea, for the natives to assemble at their solitary *morai*, for the purpose of exchanging vows of reciprocal affection over the scattered tumuli of former friends.

The Moorish tombs, surrounded by cooling shades, and thickly planted with flowers, call to mind the romantic cemeteries of France and Switzerland. There is scarcely any country in which a great portion of the inhabitants do not derive a secret and delightful source of consolation from the idea of departed friends being present at the scenes of life, and keeping up a mysterious intercourse with those who frequent their graves to pay the sacred tribute of sympathy and tears.

In their diet the Moors generally vary between the extremes of

frugality and gluttony. Supporting hunger and thirst with amazing patience, when the occasion presents itself, they devour with the voracity of a Lombard. The celebrated cuscousu is prepared by putting a quantity of rice, and another grain peculiar to Barbary, in a perforated vase, which, being laid over a boiler well filled with fowls, mutton, &c. the steam of the latter cooks the cuscousu, when some butter, and the more solid contents of the boiler, are mixed up with it, making, upon the whole, one of the finest dishes imaginable: no wonder, therefore, that this should be the national, and I may add universal food in Barbary. The pillaw and basseen is a species of pudding, to which salt beef or mutton is sometimes added. They also indulge in hashes, which together with their roast meat are extremely well prepared. Great quantities of sugar, spices, and otto of roses, are used in all their culinary preparations.

Before eating, the Moors invariably wash their hands, they then sit down cross-legged round the table, which nearly touches the floor: neither cloth or napkins are used, one towel serving in common for the whole party. The spoons are generally of wood; he who makes use of an ivory one, being considered a great man. As to knives and forks they are never employed, nor are they much wanted, owing to the meats being always in small pieces, and so much boiled, as to separate with the greatest facility. There are no glasses either; all, *more pecudum*, drink water or lemonade out of a large pitcher: wine is of course prohibited, and with it all mirth and gaiety. Notwithstanding the prophet's injunctions, many of the faithful, particularly the Turks and Moors, frequent the taverns in Algiers; and on these occasions, forgetting the precepts of religion, they do not disdain to take very large draughts of the potent juice! The Musselmen find little difficulty in giving themselves absolution for this kind of excess; and many are no doubt liberal enough to believe, they are even acting conscientiously, in thus adding to the generosity of their morose nature. They are, however, obliged to dispatch the bottle with some celerity, as otherwise detection might ensue: like M. La

Mothe, the sprightly Bishop of Orleans, who in a large party, hearing that there was a *liqueur* called the milk of Venus, handing round, which could not well be pronounced in the presence of his grace, successively swallowed three or four glasses, observing that no time was to be lost in destroying so dangerous an enemy!

Whenever an Arab or Moor is crossing the desert he has usually something in his mouth to chew: this sometimes consists of tobacco-leaf, and is said to give considerable nutriment, operating like the flour made out of oyster-shells, used by the inhabitants of South America; which, as well as their famous *coca*, enables them to pass whole days without any other sustenance. But that which affords most pleasure and relief to a Moor, after a fatiguing day's journey, is a cup of coffee: of which there is an immense consumption all over Barbary, as in other Mahometan countries. They prefer that of Yemen, and do not grind it as in Europe: after being burned,* it is merely pounded in a mortar; instead of boiling it by infusion, the water is poured on it, as we prepare our tea. The coffee I saw made in this way, had all the appearance of rosolio: but I did not much approve of their drinking it without sugar; while they thought me absolutely mad, for using so much. On this subject I could have repeated with our celebrated poet Redi:

Beverei prima il veleno
Che un bicchier che fosse pieno
Dell' amaro e reo caffé.

All that is dear and amiable in this world bears the title and character of beauty: sweetness is also frequently applied to objects of approbation: music is *sweet*, so is a fine climate or impressive sermon. Is any one disposed to eulogize a friend, he is a *sweet* fellow, and his

* Every one recollects Buonaparte's decrees against the colonial produce of England; in which it was ordered, that all such articles should be burnt. One day, on entering the apartment of his first minister, he surprised him in drinking coffee; and in an angry tone, asked "don't you know my orders?" Upon which the minister replied, "it has been *burnt*, sire!"—*Ed.*

words are like *honey!* Advice ought to be sweet, and sweetness should temper mercy. The severity of the fair sex should partake of the same quality: so ought power in the hands of kings. How beautiful is woman when she favours her admirers with *les yeux doux!* And what greater treasure can we possess than a *billet doux?*

No sooner have the Moors finished their repast, than they again wash their hands, and rising, without any other ceremony, proceed to smoke their pipes. They can neither approve or comprehend the European custom of sitting at table for hours after dinner, merely to alk scandal, and discuss political subjects. To them, it is far more agreeable and salutary to retire and take a *siesta*, in the manner of the Spaniards. Mahomet himself has promised, that God will allow the just, in Paradise, a small room where they can retire after meals to enjoy a grateful and luxurious nap.

The indolent and monotonous life of a Moor, admits of but very little amusement: if occasionally disposed to shake off their habitual laziness, they mount their barb, and absent themselves for a few days in the country. Of late years they also seem to have taken much greater delight in fowling: in the pursuit of this amusement, they have one very singular practice, that of placing themselves under a small tent, painted with various colours, round which quails and other birds flock with eagerness, and are thus shot in great numbers.

Draughts and chess, are the principal games played in Barbary; and I observed another of this species at Algiers, which appeared to be full of combination and ingenuity. Their religion prohibits card-playing; and the more rigid amongst them are quite astonished by what fatality Europeans can occupy themselves so incessantly in moving about little scraps of paper, in which they cannot possibly discover any meaning. The Mahometans would agree perfectly with the native of Siam, who, during a visit to a great nation, thus wrote to his friend at home: "The French say they only adore one God; but I cannot believe it, as besides living divinities, to whom they appear

to offer up so many vows, there are several inanimate ones, whom they sacrifice to, in private companies; where a large round altar, covered with a green cloth, and illuminated in the centre, is seen, surrounded by several people, who are seated as we are in our domestic sacrifices: one of them, who appears to be the high priest, spreads a number of these leaves on the table, which are taken out of a small book held in one hand. On these are represented a variety of the most deformed figures, which must of course represent the divinities; as, no sooner are they distributed, than each of the worshippers lays down as large an offering as he can afford on one or other of them. I observed too, that these were much larger than they were usually in the habit of making in the ordinary places of worship. After the ceremony of spreading the leaves, and making the offerings is over, the high priest places his trembling hand on the remainder of the terrible book, continuing some moments with his eyes rivetted to the table, and apparently immoveable. All the company, as if imploring some signal blessing, look with fearful anxiety towards the petrified chief: soon after, as he proceeds to turn over the leaves in his hands, each individual seems to be agitated by a different impulse: some clasping their hands, look up to Heaven with eyes full of anxiety; while others bite their lips, grind their teeth, and mutter imprecations; a third party begin to bite their fingers and stamp upon the ground: but scarcely has the high priest turned over a few leaves, than he also becomes furious: tearing the book he overturns the altar, and heaps maledictions on the sacrifice; upon this, the whole is a scene of riot and confusion. I have been led to think that theirs is a jealous god, who in order to punish them for the sacrifices they offer to so many earthly deities, sends a demon to torment each of them."

With regard to social intercourse as practised in Europe, it is scarcely known in Barbary; where people seldom meet except on matters of business. An hour after sun-set, every one retires to his own house; and if there be an occasional meeting, it is passed very differently to those of more civilized, and less depraved countries. Some hours of

the day are, in warm weather, generally spent in a kind of little portico, called *kioscos :* these are covered at the top, and being open on each side, usually command an extensive horizon. Here they remain smoking tobacco and rose leaves, the former of which is by some communicated through rose-water, as by the Indian hooker. A cup of strong Yemen coffee is frequently taken during this favourite lounge : it is still further enlivened by the appearance of public singers and dancers; each of whom endeavour to amuse the company by a combination of obscenity and voluptuousness, only to be equalled by the *baladières* of the East. It is strange to observe with what a degree of profound silence and gravity, the Moors witness these scenes, being the whole time as serious as if attending to a religious ceremony. This taciturn disposition extends to all their associations: and I have seen a party sit together for nearly two hours, without exchanging a dozen words; and afterwards depart, without the least apparent desire of seeing each other again.

In addition to the kiosco, the Moors have another grand rendezvous in the barbers' shops; which are, in all countries, endowed with the privilege of disseminating the news of the day. These receptacles are the more esteemed and frequented in Barbary, from the circumstance of their not having to share the glory of directing public opinion with those of apothecaries; who are in Europe, the great sources of anecdote and political intelligence.* The barber's shop in Algiers, is from morning to night filled with a number of idle Moors, some reclined along benches, and others seated cross-legged on the floor counting their beads, and listening with open mouths to the marvellous stories of their unerring oracle. Little, in fact, can be said in praise of social meetings in Barbary; where people unite together more by accident than design, and, instead of pursuing a regular conversation, substitute either a dead silence, or idle strain of unmeaning remarks. It is hardly necessary to add, that the

* This observation is more directly applicable to Italy.—*Ed.*

women are entirely excluded from these occasional parties; and this is no trifling reason for the dullness and stupidity which presides at them.

As in all Mahometan countries, baths are great objects of luxurious utility at Algiers; where the excessive heats of summer, no less than religious obligation render frequent ablutions necessary: nor has the prophet left a more useful injunction on his followers, than that of having recourse to their baths, as the best mode of preserving health, and keeping off disease.

The baths of Algiers, called *hamam* in the Arabic, are not inferior to those of Constantinople, so well described by Lady Montague. The hall on entering, consists of a large rotunda; in which there is a bank to lay the clothes on: when stripped, a large napkin is thrown over the bather, and he is then introduced into a corridor, where the heat becomes merely perceptible, thence, advancing by slow degrees, he successively passes through the *frigidarium*, and *tepidarium*, until he reaches the *calidarium* of the Romans; here he is laid down on soft cushions, while the continually ascending vapour combining with rich odours, soon form a cloud of incense round his body. After a few moments repose, and when the limbs become sufficiently flexible, two attendants take hold of him, and no sooner have all the joints been made to crack, than he is rolled about like kneaded bread. The evaporation on these occasions, is much more considerable than one would imagine; and although a little temporary inconvenience arises from the heat and friction, it is shortly succeeded by sensations of the most agreeable nature. The breathing becomes more free than before; while the blood circulates with unusual celerity, and a general feeling of animation spreads through the whole system, which seems to give it new life and activity.

The women of this country, are passionately fond of visiting the baths, where they can alone be said to enjoy any degree of personal liberty: here they meet their female friends, and pass the day in occupations, which is, to them, the greatest pleasure of life. Decked

in the most splendid apparel and richest ornaments, all the minutiæ of the toilet is repeated after having taken the bath. This ceremony concluded, she is washed from head to foot in rose water, and various perfumes are sprinkled over the hair: the eyebrows are next tinged, after which her garments are put on, having previously passed through the smoke of aloe wood: the toilet completed, she then proceeds to the exterior apartment, where candied fruits, sweetmeats, and other refreshments are presented; the *almé* and dancing girls now make their appearance, and while displaying all the voluptuous fascinations of their art, the former sing choruses, which do not serve to diminish the effect produced on the fair spectators by the dancers. One day in each week is thus passed by the Moorish ladies: bathing, chatting, dressing and undressing, occupy the whole of it; and is to them, the great business of life. With its apparent sameness, I am, however, inclined to think, there are some European ladies, who would not altogether dislike the above mode of passing a day. A poet, wishing, perhaps, to convey an idea of one part of the sex, thus described his better half:

Ma femme est un animal
Original,
Qui bien ou mal
S'habille,
Se deshabille,
Babille!

These various little occupations, and modes of killing time, are probably necessary to the happiness of many ladies; lest, as some have wittily observed, time should kill them! A lady of high fashion having once given out, that she wanted a female attendant, one of a very promising appearance presented herself: being asked whether she understood combing the hair, and arranging the head-dress, the new candidate replied, "that was precisely what she principally excelled in, as she only required five minutes to comb and arrange the largest head of hair." "You may go," said the lady, heaving a

deep sigh; "what! comb a lady's hair in five minutes? And pray, how am I to pass the rest of my morning?"

In Europe, dancing is with every one the symbol of joy and indication of felicity. This art, as observed by a character in the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, ought to be deeply interesting to the policy of all governments; as it teaches how to maintain the *equilibrium*. The celebrated Marcello, while giving lessons in London, was once observed to fix his eyes on a pupil, and after considering for some moments, as if absorbed in a profound reverie, suddenly exclaimed, *que de choses dans un minuet!* Old Vestris, too, on first introducing his son to public notice, appeared dressed in deep black, with a large perriwig and small sword by his side; turning to the young candidate, just as they both entered, he addressed him as follows: *mon fils, vous allez danser. Souvenez vous que vous paraissez sur le premier théâtre de l'univers, et que votre père vous regarde!* Dancing is not, however, considered by any means as a dignified accomplishment in Barbary; where it is exclusively confined to prostitutes and slaves, women of character being never allowed to dance. When a party of those females, who live by showing their dexterity in this way, are sent for to exhibit before the rich Moors in the kioscos, they are very liberally paid; and it is usual for the master of the feast to perform a favourite act of gallantry, which is done by throwing a few sequins or doubloons into the bosom of her, who has been most distinguished for agility during the entertainment. The above is by far the most agreeable spectacle enjoyed in Algiers.

The *figurantes* of Africa never dance in company with men; and although two sometimes stand up, it very seldom happens that more than one dances at a time: very little space is required for these exhibitions, the whole art consisting in throwing about the arms, various contortions of the body, and gracefully agitating a shawl or long veil, generally kept for such occasions. While the dance continues, it is accompanied by the most significant smiles and ogles;

which are sure to correspond very exactly with the amorous gestures and movements of the body. However, the acme of this talent seems to consist in moving the lower limbs with incredible celerity, while the upper remain perfectly still. This is certainly effected in a very masterly manner; but is done at the expence of decency. For my part, I cannot persuade myself to admire any kind of dancing, in which the legs and feet are not kept moving:—to me, pantomimical gestures and unmeaning grimaces, are a very insufficient substitute for a fine spring or active quiver. A Parisian figure dancer, having broken a leg, the celebrated Madame Arnaud very sensibly said,—"How fortunate that it's only a leg; had it been an arm, she would no longer have been enabled to dance!"

Amongst the means resorted to for amusing the populace in Barbary, there are a set of itinerant story-tellers, like the *Mullas* of India, and rhapsodists of Greece, who frequent the kioscos and public places; where, mounted on a table, they recount various histories and tales, filled with the most extravagant improbabilities: when ended, a cap is handed round to collect their reward, as our Italian improvisatori of the third class who sing in the streets, are in the habit of doing. As these ambulatory historians, in occasionally recurring back to days of former glory, sometimes obtain the dangerous reputation of being rather wise, the less indulgent beys of the interior, have a prompt method of signifying their total disapprobation of so much wisdom. This notice is generally followed by a broad hint, to lose no time in quitting their happy states, if they wish to keep their heads on their shoulders.

From the specimens I heard, it is extremely difficult to conceive how such quacks could possibly succeed in awakening sentiments of patriotism or a love of liberty: they seemed more calculated to produce a disposition to sleep than otherwise; and when sometimes invited by the Turkish officers to a kiosco, where stories were to be recited, there was no chance of getting away for several hours.

Even many of the Moors, I was induced to think, from their yawning, found such endless narratives,

——————Tedious as a twice-told tale,
Vexing the dull ear of a drowsy man!

Prolixity has been justly compared to long trains, which retard one's progress while they impede the free use of the limbs. There are many story-tellers who recollect every thing, except that of having favoured their friends with the same anecdote, at least six times before the last. A person being once reproved for this little failing, replied by way of consolation; "why, Sir, if I don't repeat my stories, I shall forget them!"

The reader will, no doubt, be surprised to hear of another curious amusement peculiar to this country, which is neither more nor less than the bastinado!—Such, however, is the case; and although confined to those who preside at any public feast or large entertainment, it is certain that none are ever held upon an extensive scale in Barbary, without a liberal application of the bastinado:—said to be for the laudable purpose of maintaining order and tranquillity. Amongst slaves, that joy and liberty which marks the assemblage of freemen, is entirely banished; and it is an established maxim with despotic governments, to display the rod in keeping off the multitude, which is supposed to give more dignity to a feast, while it affords a favourable opportunity of reminding the weak, that the powerful are present, to prevent the trembling populace from approaching too near them.

A great man does not arrive in a village of Barbary, without the governor doing him the honour of ordering a distribution of bastinadoes.—There are regularly appointed officers to execute this very honourable office; some being mounted, while others are on foot. The Aga *Baston*, is also an officer of the highest dignity in Algiers, his province being that of superintending all punishments: he is considered as one of the greatest props of the government. "Strike and

listen," said Themistocles to Euribiades; but at the piratical city, they strike without listening; and if any one attempts to justify himself, the dose is generally repeated. This is to carry the staff of office with a vengeance!

Considered individually, the Moor is neither fond of company or large public meetings. He thinks that to mix in crowds is not the best way of enjoying life; and in this there may be some truth, particularly when we reflect on his various other sedentary occupations. In fact, all the happiness of these people consists in sitting down, surrounded with their solitary pleasures.

A Moor cannot conceive how we derive any satisfaction from walking backwards and forwards, without any apparent object in view. When he meets a person with whom he is desirous of having any serious conversation, a retired spot is directly found; where both seat themselves. When at home, his chief delight is to lay stretched along the softest cushions, inhaling the fumes of Syrian tobacco, and sipping the best Yemen or Mokka coffee. The pleasures of the kiosco have been already described. To these may be added, the rare ceremony of visiting an acquaintance: whenever this happens, the visitor no sooner arrives, than rose water is brought in and sprinkled all over his face and person; a censer is then produced, which the bearer, generally a slave, holds up close to the stranger's head, until enough of the incense has been imbibed. After all, coffee, sherbet, and pipes, are successively presented: besides their favourite Levant tobacco, which is extremely mild, the aloe leaf is frequently used in the same way. Thus indulging their only social gratifications, politics and religion are never introduced; and very few words are exchanged: these are usually confined to—"How do you do?" "God is good;" "Algiers is a strong city;"—and similar phrases, which neither fatigue nor compromise the speaker. He who happens to receive visitants at his house, never rises when they enter, but remains seated until they come up and salute him: on retiring, the same

indifference is manifested on his part; it being merely customary to offer refreshment.

During warm weather, the rich Moor will often rise two hours before day-light; not for the purpose of saluting the God of day, but to enjoy the cooling zephyrs of night. On these occasions, he visits his children's apartment, gives orders, takes his coffee, and after smoking a pipe, lays down to sleep again. When seated in his room, four slaves attend with folded arms, and eyes steadily directed towards their master; anticipating all his wishes, and promptly obeying the slightest movement of his hand, or inclination of his head. On getting up a second time, about eight o'clock, he makes a short visit to the harem, dines at ten, takes coffee, sleeps again, and then bathes.—The whole of the morning occupation concludes by a turn on the terrace. At sun-set, supper is prepared: in less than two hours after, he is in bed; and the next day re-commences with a similar round of occupations.

From the foregoing short specimen of Moorish habits, it will be perceived, that their chief pleasure consists in little more than that of ministering to the most selfish and enervating gratifications. Not satisfied, however, with those I have noticed, many have recourse to large quantities of opium, as another means of procuring temporary happiness. In order to enjoy fancied bliss, some begin by burying the past in oblivion; and if we may believe their own accounts, nothing can be more exquisite than the dreams of joy, created by this deleterious drug. It is, by many, taken in great quantities, together with an herb, called *khaf*; and either, is said to produce an extraordinary effect on the imagination of those who make use of it. The Moors tell you, that by means of a few grains, they are transported to the third heaven, surrounded by immortal beauties, and inebriated with the most enchanting pleasures. When speaking of a man who is loaded with the favours of fortune, he is said to—"live upon opium!"

An ambassador of Tippo Saib's, when giving an account of his splendid reception at Versailles, and the wonders he saw there, terminated his narrative, by observing, that "To see any thing like it in other countries, one must have recourse to large doses of opium!"

Some have contended, that the above mode of life is, in many respects, preferable to the agitation and bustle of European manners; asserting, that although activity and exercise is necessary in colder climates, idleness and repose are inexpressible sources of delight in warmer ones. The inhabitants of more temperate regions are, it is true, continually adding to their stock of ideas; but the African, enjoying the unutterable pleasure of indolent calmness and easy meditation, is not under the necessity of going out in search of amusement: disliking conversation, he patiently awaits the pleasureable sensations as they arise in his own mind; and without the smallest personal exertion, slaves are always in attendance to anticipate his wants, and execute his orders.

Better judges of human nature, and amongst the rest, a distinguished modern traveller, are, however, of opinion, that to this indolence, so peculiar to the Moorish character, may be attributed many of their greatest vices. To obtain his object, that of being perfectly idle, the Mahometan of every country becomes selfish, cruel, avaricious, and tyrannical. Pyrrhus meditated interminable wars, in the vain hope of enjoying future repose. In fact, I very much doubt, notwithstanding appearances, whether this cold monotony of life yields quite so much happiness, as some of its advocates would persuade us. Lassitude must frequently await them; and that is by far the greatest enemy of human pleasures. We know also, that the operation of rust is sometimes more injurious than even the file itself.

Total strangers to all those finer feelings of the heart, and generous sympathies which produce so many acts of virtue in more civilized countries, I could never discover any thing to excite praise or esteem in their mode of life. Without the warm affections and

tender sentiment of an European, the Moor may indeed be said to vegetate and even enjoy sensual pleasures; but he is lost to the exercise of benevolence and humanity, not to mention the still more exalted privilege of extending intellectual faculties: A person once speaking of an epicure, who took great care of his person, observed, that he would no doubt live a long time: rather say, "he will *last* long," rejoined a by-stander. The same observation may be with great truth applied to all the followers of Mahomet, who vegetate, but cannot be said to live.

CHAPTER XII.

Moorish Beauty.—Eyes and Features, Corpulency, and Mode of fattening up before Marriage.—Criterion to judge of a fine Woman.—Complexion. Embellishments extraordinary.—Comparison with European Ladies.—Vanity the ruling Principle.—Unhappy Condition of the Women in Barbary; their State of Servitude and ill Treatment.—Ideas of the Moors with regard to their Creation.—Their premature old Age.—Jealousy.—Ridiculous Precautions to prevent Women from being seen or spoken to.—Inevitable Consequence of being discovered in an Intrigue.—Story of a Tunisian Lady.—Susceptibility and Power of Love.—Moorish Houses favourable to Intrigue.—Argusses occasionally outwitted.—Affectionate Conduct of the Moorish Ladies towards their Husbands, &c.

Is she handsome? is always the first question we ask of those who mention a lady in our hearing:—and the weaker is very justly denominated the *fair* sex. Lovers and poets, with equal propriety, call those who may have inflamed their hearts or inspired their heads, beautiful; and although not very abundantly supplied with materials, my duty and admiration would remain very incomplete, were I to omit giving some little account of African beauty. Those of my European acquaintances in Algiers, who, "more bless'd than I," had the pleasure of making greater discoveries on the subject, describe them as possessing the utmost regularity of features and finest complexions. The celebrated Rivarol being asked what he thought of the ladies of Paris and Berlin, answered, "that the veins of the Parisian fair ones were filled with milk; while pure blood seemed to flow in those of the Berlin ladies. Of the Moorish women, it may be said that fire is the

circulating fluid. It is particularly active in their eyes, which nature seems to have formed between a material and spiritual substance, the light in which the soul is seen to shine. The African belles move those sensitive orbs with inimitable art; and, as seen through the envious veil which covers them, they have been compared to the sun's rays, obscured by a passing cloud.

As to figure and person, the Moors do not regard it so much as we do, or more properly speaking, their ideas of beauty and ours are materially different. So far from bracing up with stays and lacings to produce slenderness and grace, they are anxious to give full developement both to the limbs and person: to be fat and corpulent, is the readiest way an African fair can take to obtain conquests. So that amongst the Moors, immensity of size and beauty are synonymous. Mind and sentiment are not amongst the ingredients of love in Barbary; nor do they add in any degree to the value of a wife with a Moor. The more fatness, the greater wealth as a partner. Women are, in fact, esteemed by their weight. It is on this account that infinite pains are taken to fatten up Moorish ladies: enclosed in a small room they are fed like the pigeons and doves in Italy; one part of their diet consists of little paste balls, which are dipped in oil: great quantities of these are swallowed, and washed down with water; while the mother is constantly in attendance, to enforce their being devoured *bon gré malgré*: nor is the bastinado spared, if they refuse the nauseating portion. Thus, a young woman who requires a camel to carry her, is considered as a superior beauty; while one who cannot walk without the assistance of a slave on each side, is considered to have only moderate pretensions to that title! It is needless to add, that some of our Italian ladies, who are principally composed of skin and bone, would stand a poor chance in Barbary; while to the more favoured in flesh and blood, the sturdy Moors would smack their lips, and repeat *malechi esseri*, "this is rich!"

A fair and smooth skin is also considered as a great improvement to an African beauty. These are admirable qualities in the eyes

of most people; but more particularly so, amongst a race, whose love is purely material. Where intellectual attractions are disregarded, those of a physical nature more than satisfy their absence.

The ladies of Barbary, like those of all other countries, also call in the aid of art, to embellish their natural beauty: it is true, they have no rouge; but its place is supplied by tattooing various figures, and graceful emblems, on the neck, bosom, and other parts of the body: the hair and nails are also coloured with the juice of an herb called *zenna*, which gives a saffron hue to them: the eyes too, are encircled with several lines; which, though it gives somewhat of a harsher cast to the countenance, adds wonderfully to the piercing expression of the eye. If the painful operation of tattooing occasions temporary inconvenience and pain, the ornamental part remains: and it has the additional advantage of saving the ladies a great deal of trouble, experienced by the European belles; particularly that of being obliged to deposit their "borrowed graces" every night, before retiring to bed: and one cannot address them, as a gentleman once did a lady, who used frequently to appear with a different cosmetic: "I am always discovering some new beauty in you, madam!"

Unfortunately, all those painful precautions are not destined to be compensated by public applause; but are exclusively confined to the melancholy precincts of the harem. When a female walks out, she is so oppressed and covered with drapery, that it is quite impossible to distinguish any part of her face or figure: it is only when she goes to the bath, or takes the air on her terrace, that the African fair is decked out in all the splendor of beauty, and pomp of dress. The latter amusement is, however, extremely solitary, as they are rarely seen, except by some female neighbour whom they happen to visit, or that calls on them to pass an occasional hour. Moving in a very limited circle, with pleasures, which are merely of a sensual nature, vanity could alone induce a Moorish lady to be assiduous in decorating her person: and the rarity of what she possesses in the way of ornament, is her only recompense for the miserable

uniformity of her days. To the foregoing causes, may be added, that of the pleasure which most women derive from eclipsing a successful rival, whether in dress or gallantry. A lady, who seemed to bestow particular attention to the embellishment of her person, and splendor of her equipage, being asked if she meditated a new conquest, or wished to fascinate some happy mortal; replied, "these decorations of my person, and studied elegance of living, are not intended to please the men, but to mortify the women!"

Of all human beings, none are more entitled to commiseration than the ill-fated women of Barbary. Shut up, confined in all their movements, and strictly observed, they have the additional mortification of being regarded with contempt by their inexorable masters. A constant prey to jealousy, envy, and all the bitter pangs of humiliated self-love and despised beauty, they are generally obliged to divide the affections of their husbands with more successful rivals. To these evils may be added, that of being dependent for happiness on the caprice, morose temper, and untractable disposition of men; who, according to their idiom, do not like ladies possessed of the *right hand*, meaning prudent wives and agreeable companions; but would infinitely rather find them trembling slaves. Extremely inimical to an increase of family, the Moorish husband acts like a real pirate in the conjugal bed, devastating the field of pleasure, instead of enriching it by a smiling offspring.

Becoming wives, the females of Barbary are at once excluded from all the rights and privileges of the opposite sex, and pleasures of society. None are allowed to eat at the same table with their husbands; while those of the lower classes, attend as servants at their meals, present them with water to wash, and kiss their feet with as much respect as we do the hand. There is not, in fact, a single law, or accommodating usage, established in this country for the female's happiness or protection. When obliged to sue for redress before the Cadi, a wife can very seldom obtain the smallest satisfaction, no matter how great her wrongs. If permitted to separate from

her persecutor, she loses her dowry: recurring to her parents for assistance and support, these have either no power to act, or decline entering into the dispute, frequently sending the poor complainant back with disdain. A woman thus situated, once went to her father's to complain that she had received a blow on the cheek from her husband; the latter no sooner heard the story, than he gave her one on the other side, saying,—"You will inform your husband, that having struck my daughter, I have struck his wife; and so now we are quits."

The Musselmen credibly believe, that God has only created women for the mere purposes of sensual enjoyment, to contribute to the pleasures of the stronger sex, and perpetuate the human race. This idea, extravagant as it is, they have also contrived to make the females believe. By this barbarous doctrine, which only tends to give a little importance to women, while they can minister to the gratification of their lords and masters, when personal charms cease, they are consigned to unutterable contempt. Amongst the other fatiguing occupations reserved for females in this deplorable state, they are employed to fetch water from distant wells, strike and pitch the tents. They also load the camels, while their husbands form a circle on the sand, and remain conversing upon indifferent subjects, or smoking their pipes. Often when on a journey, the women are obliged to walk; while the men quietly retain their seat on the camel, frequently flogging them if they do not keep up with the animal. Nature, too, seems to unite with the harsh customs and atrocious legislation of Barbary, in rendering the women still more unhappy. In these warm climates, beauty may be compared to early flowers, which soon blow and as quickly fade.

The circumstance of marrying, and bearing children at so tender an age, the coldness and neglect of their husbands, the little care taken by themselves to preserve their grace and beauty, immoderate use of hot baths; and, above all, the monotonous and sedentary life of the harem, with the *ennui* consequent on so much solitude, bring on premature old age so very soon, that at twenty-five, they

generally look to be forty. Nothing but ruin is shewn in their countenances; and one cannot say, *on voit que l'amour a passé par là!* It is not enough for the Moorish women to be thus wretched and persecuted, but it must be continued after death; when the joys of Paradise are even denied them; it being settled that they are to remain at the door; it is also very much doubted, whether they even have a soul. It is true, that in some parts of Europe, the men are alone counted as possessing this attribute; and an author of the middle ages has stated, that in women God made the eyes, cheeks, lips, *et alia quæ sunt dulcia et amicabilia; sed de capite noluit se immisceri; sed permisset illud facere diabulo!* But these are the silly reasonings of distempered imaginations: if any one were seriously disposed to argue the point, it would perhaps be in his power, to prove women infinitely superior to men in a variety of respects, wherein intellectual talent is more immediately concerned. An unbiassed philosopher, in tracing the wonderful progress of created being, from the minutest insect, to the "paragon of animals," might prove from analogy, and fact, that lovely woman was created last, at once to govern man, and become the great prototype of beauty. Woman is, in effect, the smile of nature: supporting the two extremes of life, she forms the joy and happiness of its intermediate space. An eastern poet thus addressed the daughters of men: "ye are the graces of day, and the night loves ye like the dew which it sheds on flowers. The infant issues from your side, to fix on your lips and bosom. Made for love, you have words of magic, to soothe every sorrow!"

Although love has no share in forming the connubial state, or strengthening the more tender ties of matrimony in this country, yet strange as it may appear to an European, the Moors are full of the most cruel jealousy; which is, however, perfectly consonant to the rest of their character. It sometimes even happens, amongst ourselves, that there is a possibility of being jealous, without having a particle of real attachment for the object of our suspicion: this is far from being an unusual exertion of self-love. Another species of that vile

passion, arises from want of confidence in the beloved object: when more rationally exerted, it extends to the diffidence which real merit is apt to feel, in its own powers of pleasing. But that of Barbary, originates in characteristic suspicion, a tyrannical disposition, an exclusive desire of possessing absolute power in every thing, even to a blind dependence on their will and caprice; all of which, acting simultaneously on the Moorish husband, hurries him on to extravagance and crimes, in gratifying this horrible feeling. It is related, that the governor of a province, being obliged to march against a neighbouring prince, who had sworn to effect his destruction, retired for seven days to the country, remaining all that time with the women of his harem, enjoying all the pleasures of a Musselman's life. Being afterwards unable to sustain the dreadful thought of leaving them behind, perhaps to fall into the hands, and grace the triumph of his ferocious rival, he caused them all to be dispatched, and then set off to assume the command of his army.*

Upon another occasion, a Bey who had a beautiful woman in his harem, of whom he was passionately fond; on hearing that a painter had just arrived, wished to have her portrait taken: for this purpose, he ordered the artist into his presence; and notifying his pleasure, promised a liberal recompense for his trouble. The painter replied, that he felt himself highly honoured by so flattering a commission, and would do every thing in his power to satisfy his excellency. "You may go to work then with all possible dispatch," said the Bey; "and when the picture is finished, bring it to me without loss of time." "Your highness has only to let me see the lady whose portrait I am to have the honour of painting." "What!" interrupted the enraged Mahometan, "do you suppose I will let you see my wife?" "How

* It is related of a jealous husband, that once finding himself alone with his wife, in a room where there was a large looking-glass, he broke it to pieces with the cane which he held in his hand; alledging, that he could not bear the thought of his wife's seeing herself there in one man's company. Another addle-headed dolt, would not allow his wife to pronounce the name of any animal of the masculine gender!

then," rejoined the painter, "am I to represent a person whom I have never seen?" "Retire," exclaimed the Bey, with trembling lips, and eyes flashing fury. "If I cannot have her portrait, without exposing her to your eyes, I would rather, a thousand times, forego the pleasure I had figured to myself from having her picture drawn." It was in vain that the astonished painter endeavoured to reason with his highness on the unreasonableness of his proposition; and soon after made good his retreat from the irritated presence, congratulating himself on having escaped being thrown out of the window.

Innumerable are the precautions which a Moor takes, to seclude his women from the sight of other people. Whenever a Christian enters one of their houses, he should be careful not to proceed too far, before the master calls out *Tarik!* meaning to give place; so that the women may have time to get out of the way. No stranger, and it is very rare, that even a brother-in-law is permitted to see a married lady without her veil. In the harem, the women are under the care of an old female superintendant, styled *cadenhahia,* or some of that unfortunate race called eunuchs; who in addition to their other harmless qualities, are purposely disfigured in their features to prevent the possibility of being seen, without a feeling of horror by the ladies. When visited by a medical man, they are so placed, as to prevent him from seeing their figure: and, previous to the pulse being felt, care is taken to cover the hand and arm with a thick veil, so that even a man's finger shall not touch the delicate skin of a Moorish female. While walking on the terraces, all the males are warned not to extend their profane regards over the forbidden fair. It is also, on this account, that the Moors are said to employ blind men on the minarets, to call the faithful, when the hour of prayer at the mosques is announced.

The Moor's vengeance arising from jealousy, is generally of the most terrible description. If any intrigue or correspondence is discovered between a Mahometan female and a Christian, he is inevitably condemned to lose his head; and the woman, after receiving a hundred blows of the bastinado on her stomach, is enclosed in a sack and

thrown into the sea: should the gallant be a Moor, the offended husband has the privilege of killing him, and then his wife. It is not long since a case of the greatest horror and atrocity in this way, occurred at Tunis. The daughter of a Doletro, having conceived the strongest attachment for a young Moor, was prevented from marrying him, on account of her father's preferring one of the Bey's secretaries: the young lady, who was one of the most beautiful women in the regency, continued, notwithstanding, to keep up rather too free an intercourse with her lover, who, by means of a cord let down into the street, was occasionally enabled to introduce himself into her apartment: unfortunately, one night when he had nearly reached the window, the line broke; and he received such a contusion from the fall, as rendered it impossible for him to move from the spot. The secretary, who happened to be returning rather later than usual from El Bardo that night, discovered the ill-fated lover, who was even weak enough to confess his crime. The former having communicated the whole circumstance to his master, asked what revenge he should take to appease his wounded honour. The Bey replied, that he conceived the gallant had already suffered enough from his fall, which would most probably end in death; but as to the lady, the injured husband was at liberty to dispose of her as he thought proper. The secretary then proceeded to the house of his father-in-law, and related the whole story of his wife's infidelity. On this, both parties returned to his own house, and calling the distracted female into her dressing-room, they instantly applied a cord to her neck, by which she was in a few moments strangled.

To so great a length is the feeling of jealousy carried amongst these people, that you cannot, with propriety, ask a Moor after his wife's health. It is easy to conceive that such men are not likely to contribute much to the happiness of their companions in wedlock; nor can it be wondered at, if the husband's cruel treatment and total want of confidence, often gives rise to a spirit of hatred and desire of revenge on the part of his wife.

The wretched life led by the females in Barbary, creates a feeling of melancholy, which is said to make them very accessible, and even prone to the tender passion. The great master of the art of love, advises us to beware of mentioning this subject to a woman while she is viewing, with anxious eyes, a horse or chariot race;—but love as frequently springs from pity. It need not therefore be wondered at, if the Moorish ladies are occasionally relieved by the officious zeal of some kind matron of Ephesus. It is in vain, that the husband endeavours to amuse his dejected slaves by taking them into the country, calling in the aid of music, and other recreations: these produce a very trifling effect in cheering up the otherwise cold uniformity of their unhappy days. An European lady, whose partner kept her continually in the country, was incessantly recurring to the pleasures of the city and all its fascinating varieties. "How can you possibly be dull?" asked the rural philosophers of her neighbourhood: "here you breathe the purest air, and can at any moment cull flowers of every hue, or walk on the gentle rising grounds, surrounded by numberless innocent pleasures." To all this the lady replied, in a dissatisfied tone, "but I don't like innocent pleasures!"

Notwithstanding so many precautions, the winged cherub frequently contrives to scale the triple walls of the harem, where selfishness, pride, and jealousy, have confined the empire of beauty; and in Barbary, an intrigue commences where those of Europe generally end. The Christian slaves are looked upon with so much contempt, that they are considered rather as domestic animals than otherwise, and on this account never want for opportunities of seeing their masters' wives,—so that almost every slave has his Moorish *chere amie*, as each soldier of Italy his servant.* As there is usually one in particular whom the master honours with his confidence and esteem above the rest, the ladies of the harem consider themselves

* The Italian soldier's wife or ammunition partner, is generally styled *la sua serva*. —*Ed.*

bound and authorised to treat him with a much greater degree of attention and indulgence.

This mode of justifying their preference, reminds me of the specious and whimsical reasons once given to a monarch by one of his favourites, who was desirous of excusing her various gallantries in the eyes of his majesty.—"You," said he, "loved the Marechal de * * *."—"Ah, Sire," she answered, "he had acquired such glory!" "You were in love with my prime minister," continued the king;—"He had so much power, Sire!" "That, was also a fine intrigue between you and the young officer."—"Yes, Sire; but then what a charming figure, and how well he danced!" "And the secretary of the academy!"—"He had so much wit, Sire; and said such good things!" "But what in the name of wonder could you see in the chancellor, with his awkward figure and taciturn character."—"Ah, Sire, he was so warmly attached to your majesty!"

It should also be observed, that the construction of the Moorish houses, is favourable to enterprizes of gallantry and love: what with their flat terraces and ladders of communication, a person may easily go all over a district without once descending into the street; while he who enters at the door can always, in the event of being surprised, escape by the terrace.

Night has ever been favourable to thieves and lovers. In Barbary the latter avail themselves of that propitious season, and like the cats, are scattered about the roofs for the purpose of gratifying their illicit amours. It often occurs, that a lady is permitted to go and visit some female friend for a few days: these are said to be sometimes very profitably employed; and if the husband derives additional pleasure from their occasional absence, they also know how to make it delightful to themselves. Besides, if a woman declares herself pregnant, and expresses a desire to go any where, she is never prevented, there being the most scrupulous attention paid to all the wants and wishes of Mahometan women in this delicate state. It was said of a lady, some years separated from her husband, and who seemed desirous of

rejoining him, that her's was the wish of a pregnant woman. Ill-nature might insinuate, that the little excursions made by the Moorish ladies on such occasions, would bear an inverse construction to the above. But I do not pretend to go so deeply into the scandalous chronicle of Barbary. It was asked of Mademoiselle Lanoi, while employed in writing her Memoirs, how she would represent herself, when arrived at that part which related to certain little adventures of gallantry; she answered, "*in a bust:*"—so it ought to be with a correct and cautious painter of manners. When we speak of women, says Diderot, our pen should be dipped in the colours of the rainbow, and the lines sprinkled with golden powder taken from the wings of the gentle butterfly!

Truth and justice, therefore, require me to express my firm belief, that the ladies of Algiers seldom take advantage of the few solitary privileges accorded to them by long established custom, rather than the generosity of their husbands. Most of those who go out for a short time, have no other object in view, than that of passing a few days with friends or relatives. It would tend to diminish that sympathy which I am so desirous of awakening towards the persecuted fair of Africa, were I to omit bearing ample testimony to the astonishing patience and resignation evinced by them, in supporting all their accumulated wrongs. Perfectly reconciled to their solitude, they would be offended if a husband exposed them to the regards of a stranger, and even doubt whether they had not ceased to be estimable in his eyes, when not enclosed within the walls of his harem. Those who have had greater facilities of observation, say, that nothing can exceed the amiable tenderness and heartfelt gratitude shewn by the Moorish women, towards the only object of their sight and affections; the smallest act of kindness being enough to fill them with happiness. If the husband sends to say he wishes to dine with or visit his wife, she immediately puts on her richest dress and most costly ornaments,—causes the apartment to be perfumed,—prepares the choicest viands, and receives her lord with a degree of

dignified respect and affectionate gallantry, which would not disgrace the matrons of Europe. Strangers to the idle frivolities of the world, all their tenderness is concentrated in their children. Nothing is more pleasing than a mother's fondness, or so calculated to inspire veneration and respect, as the lisping emblem of innocence which hangs upon her bosom! Such a gratifying sight repels the greatest libertine, and the most abandoned will not attempt to corrode its happiness. The women of Barbary, strangers to the gaze of vulgar eyes, reserve all their secret charms for the happy being who is destined to possess the unpolluted treasure. Concealed by a thorny hedge-row, the violet is unseen; but the fragrant odour discovers its modest beauty.

CHAPTER XIII.

State of Agriculture in ALGIERS.—*Imperfect Mode of Ploughing.—Wine.—Butter.—Oil.—Olive Trees.—Method of enriching the Land.—Different Trades and Manufactures.—Otto of Roses.—Commerce.—Exports and Imports.—Traffic with the Interior of Africa.—Method of Dealing.—Circulating Medium.—Clipping.—Letters and Sciences.—Arab Writers.—Hints on Civilization.—Anecdote—The Pen.—The Alfagui.—Their Pedantry.—The Thibibs.—Medical Treatment in* BARBARY.—*Anecdotes, &c.*

THE statistics of Barbary furnish very little matter to excite the enquiry, or gratify the curiosity of European travellers: with the finest soil on earth, it is impossible for any country to be more neglected. Where three-fourths of the ground is uncultivated, it is scarcely necessary to add, that agriculture is at the very lowest state of rudeness and degradation. In ploughing, the share is hardly perceived to leave any trace behind: meadow and pasture land is, however, tolerably well watered; but the people of this country are by no means well versed in the breeding and taking care of their flocks or horned cattle. The gardens are well stocked with fruit trees, though neither taste nor symmetry is observed in the planting.* Notwithstanding the great quantity of olive oil made in the Algerine territory, it is generally of a bad quality, entirely owing to their total ignorance of preparing it in a better manner: the tree too, is suffered to grow without being regu-

* Although there is infinite room for improvement in the gardens of Barbary, I trust that should it ever be colonized from Europe, the false taste which still continues to pervade those of France and Italy will not be introduced: and in this hope I have every reason to believe, the author will most heartily join his wishes to mine.—*Ed.*

larly pruned, which is another great source of injury to the olive.* The wine, which is made by Christian slaves, is quite as good as that of Roses in Spain: but it loses a great deal of its flavour, after a visit from the locusts. Butter is made by putting the milk into a goat's skin, which being hung up, is beaten with sticks on each side, until fit to be worked by the hand: it is by this filthy process not only badly tasted, but always full of hairs. Corn is ground in mills, which are turned by three camels. Unacquainted with the art of enriching land, they merely set fire to the stubble or other weeds: on these occasions, great mischief arises from the flames often extending far beyond what is required: it also creates a dreadful heat in the atmosphere, and frequently runs along with such rapidity, that men and animals have scarcely time to evade the fiery torrent: these fires sometimes last for nearly two months, during which, they give an appearance of awful sublimity to the heavens.

The trades most esteemed in Algiers, are those of the shoemaker, druggist, jeweller, and, above all, the cap manufacturer: of the latter article, prodigious quantities are made and exported to all the ports of the Levant. Each craft has its chief or head, called *Amin;* who decides all the little disputes which may arise within his particular department: this mode of dividing the trades is very similar to that formerly adopted in Florence. Metals are often worked without the aid of fire, which gives great solidity to many of their utensils. There are also, in the interior, several potteries and manufactures of hardware. The wool of Barbary, and more particularly that of Algiers, is admirably calculated for receiving dyes of every hue: the bright silks of this regency are also highly esteemed all over Barbary, for making the scarfs usually worn by females. The tanning, and preparation of hides and other skins, is very well understood by the Moors; and the Morocco leather, by which all coloured skins are called in Barbary, is made to great perfection in Algiers: they also make very

* For an account of the curious process of making olive oil, see Keatinge's Morocco, part II, p. 221.—*Ed.*

fine carpets, called *hiram;* but they mostly pride themselves in the manafactory of *Scialli* shawls; which, considering their quality, are sold at a much cheaper rate than those of the Levant. Baskets, and various other convenient ornaments, are formed out of the palm tree leaf, many of which look as fine as silk, and nothing can exceed the beauty of their mats made of the fine rushes of Labez.

But of all African manufactures, that of its otto of roses, is by far the most celebrated: this exquisite flower yields double the quantity of essence in Barbary, to what it does in Europe; the finest and most precious, called *nessari,* is distilled from the white rose. It is strange, that with their present imperfect knowledge of chemistry, the Moors should be so much better versed in the distillation of this flower than Europeans: to their remarkable talent in this way, may be added, uncommon patience and attention towards bringing the essence to perfection. Seeiug the old Moors, with their venerable beards and flowing mantles, sitting in solemn silence, and gravely holding the balance, into which they pour the otto with infallible exactness; I often figured to myself, Time dispensing pleasure in drops, and scrupulously weighing all the enjoyments of life.

The present limited trade of Algiers is chiefly conducted by Jews. Grain is generally sold at very low prices, though none can be exported without a *tischera,* or written permit, bearing the Dey's seal. A similar licence is necessary before any oil, of which such large quantities are made, can be shipped: this article is principally sent to Ottoman ports; more especially Rosetta and Damietta in Egypt. It is also necessary to obtain a permit before cattle, sheep, and goats can be embarked; and fowls must be killed previous to leaving the shore.

The chief articles supplied by Algiers to foreign countries, consist of coarse linens, cotton, raisins, dried figs, honey, wax, dates, brocades, taffety, muslin, tobacco, sugar and coffee: the two latter, are the fruits of piracy; ostrich feathers, otto of roses, gold dust, brought by the caravans; grain and cattle. It is also an excellent place to make purchases in shawls, whether of home or foreign manufacture.

There is a considerable demand in this place for various commodities; but owing to the many duties, uncertainty of payment, difficulties thrown in the way of exportation, and frequent exactions of the Dey and his officers, few speculators are encouraged to visit the Regency. Foreign wines pay an excessive impost: fine gunpowder and flints sell remarkably well, the latter being generally very scarce; and the powder made in the country is found much too weak for small arms. Deals, prepared ship timber, wrought iron, cannon, fire-arms, and naval stores of every kind, find a ready sale in Algiers. The coral fishery, which is chiefly conducted by Sardinians and Corsicans, is exchanged in large quantities for gold dust; which the Algerine merchants receive from Sansandang, and other interior kingdoms. One of the most lucrative sources of traffic, though so highly disgraceful to European merchants, is derived from the sale of property plundered by the corsairs: many of these, follow in the pirates' train, as the jackall does in that of the lion.

South of the Algerine territory, and towards the Tunisian frontier, there is a particular race, called the *Cadensi* or *Gademis*, who carry on a constant trade with the interior regions of Africa, whence they bring gold dust, ostrich feathers, dates, &c. Their returns from Algiers consist of Turkish daggers, small looking-glasses, beads, knives, scissars, tobacco, and great quantities of salt, which is highly prized in most parts of this vast continent. The extreme probity observed in all dealings between the Gademis and African nations, has often excited the admiration of travellers: the Moorish merchant, having placed what he has for sale in a particular spot, retires: the negroe dealer then advances, and if disposed to purchase, lays down the quantity of gold dust, or other material he is inclined to give in exchange close to it: on withdrawing in his turn, the Moor goes back, and if he finds the deposited articles equivalent to his own, he takes them away, leaving the latter: on the other hand, should the articles left be unequal to his wishes, he removes the goods; when, if after a little time, the negroe's offering is not increased, their negociation terminates, and they all depart. Whenever their contracts are

mutually satisfactory, and this is generally the case, reciprocal demonstrations of friendship take place, and they often travel in company with each other for several days.

There is not much money to be seen in Algiers, at least, the quantity seldom increases from credit or circulation: it is more frequently diminished by hoarding and concealment under ground; the result of that uncertainty and violence, peculiar to the mandates of an arbitrary government. Naturally economical, the Moors are always intent on accumulating; they know also, that money is like time: they who do not squander it away, are seldom without a sufficient supply.

The doubloon and dollar of Spain are the first in circulation and credit at Algiers; guineas lose by going there; the sultanas of gold, somewhat smaller than a sequin, pass for two dollars; the other coins, are the *pataca gorda,* or current dollar; which is equal to three of ours in Italy: the *pataca chica,* an ideal money, equivalent to two hundred *aspri.* The smaller coins circulated in the regency, are called *mussona,* equal to about four *soldi* of Italy: *marabuto,* of still less value; the *tomino,* which forms an eighth part of the pataca chica; and *saime,* another imaginary standard, equal to fifty aspri: the latter is of silver, but so exceedingly diminutive, that it slips from the hand in counting: two or three hundred being necessary for the most trifling payment. The shop-keepers have plates of copper upon which they spread the aspri, to render the counting more easy; but this is, at best, a most annoying and tedious operation, which nothing less than the perseverance of a Moor could get over. They are, for hours together, employed in counting and recounting a sum that would not exceed ten pence of our money; but what could they do, if deprived of this interesting occupation, their pipe, and the glorious privilege of sitting cross-legged for at least ten hours during the day?

Money changers are to be found in every corner of the city: they change dollars without any other profit than that of occasionally throwing in a few spurious aspri; which, from the trouble it gives to

examine them, generally escapes detection. Some of the Moors also contrive to amuse themselves in clipping the circulating medium, for which they are very rarely punished: it does not happen to them, as to the culprit, who was condemned to the gallies for encroaching rather too closely on the inscriptions which surrounded his sovereign's coinage; and being interrogated as to his motives, replied, that they originated in his fondness for the *belles lettres!*

A mere handful of Turkish adventurers having triumphed over peaceful nations, and violently succeeded in establishing the atrocious governments of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly, the clouds of ignorance and barbarism soon involved the whole extent of country between Cape Spartel and Alexandria; obliterating, as it were, the recollection of its civilization under the kings of Numidia and Mauritania. Not to mention the succeeding lights of Arabic learning, which illumined this part of Africa in after times; at present, it would be difficult to conceive, that this was the country, in which the celebrated astronomer *Abumaser* flourished; or *Giber*, one of the fathers of alchymy and chemical science; *Alfarabe al Ascari*, who first applied the peripatetic philosophy to Islamism, and gave rise to a famous school, called the *Assareti*, so famous in Spain; or the equally celebrated orthodox doctor, *Eseferez Esachelli*, author of the great work on cosmography, entitled *Spatiatorum Locum*, who, in order the better to pursue his studies, did not put his eyes out, but saw that there was no chance of philosophizing in a court, and therefore abandoned that of Ruggiero, king of Sicily, for a tranquil retirement on the coast of Africa; *Ibni al Chatil Raisi*, the most eloquent speaker, and best poet of his day; who, while at Fez, recited a poem, containing such a pathetic detail of the sufferings of *Abù Habdilla*, king of Granada, that it induced the government and populace to espouse his cause, and restore him to his throne;* and *Isaac ben Erram*, that told his master, who had

* The iniquitous and ungrateful Habdilla, afterwards became the bitterest enemy of his benefactor; and having persuaded the king of Fez to give him up, he caused the unhappy man to be cruelly murdered.

associated him to another medical man, with whom he could not agree in opinion, that the differing of two doctors was worse than a quartan ague! We no longer recognize in the degenerate Moor, those gallant chiefs who ornamented the splendid courts of Granada and Cordova, and enjoyed the luxuries of *Generalif*, or founded the Alhambra and Zehra.

Printing, that great source of European improvement, has not as yet been introduced into Barbary; arising as much from the opposition of the respective governments to a farther diffusion of knowledge, as the fear of depriving numberless copyists of occupation and bread. Thus there is neither a free communication of ideas, or the smallest advance towards perfection. The men of letters, who are called *Alfagui* and *Talbi*, principally consist of impostors who make use of the few talents they possess, for no other purpose than that of keeping the populace in a state of the utmost ignorance. The Imans and Musselmen, exclusively devoted to the study of the Koran, (a book full of absurdities, mixed with a few poetic flights, and overcharged by its inflexible doctrine of fatalism,) form an apparently insurmountable barrier to the dissemination of knowledge or science: with them it is even a crime to learn the Arabic, or receive the smallest instruction from a stranger. Mahomet has been, in fact, the greatest enemy human reason ever encountered. Men who were full of his ferocious spirit, exclaimed, that God would punish the Caliph *Al Mamon*, for having introduced the sciences into his states, to the detriment of that holy ignorance recommended by the prophet to all true believers;—and that if any person dared to imitate him, he ought to be impaled, and then carried through the tribes, preceded by a herald who was to cry with a loud voice, "Behold, the recompense of that impious wretch who shall prefer philosophy to tradition, and his proud reason to the precepts of the divine Koran!"

All the instruction given to children, consists in sending the boys to school, where they are merely taught to read and repeat fifty or sixty aphorisms from the Koran. When capable of this gigantic

effort of learning and science, the pupil's education is complete; and as a reward for his diligence, as well as to excite emulation in others, he is paraded round the city on horseback;—feasts are given by his parents;—he becomes the envy of his play fellows;—and the pedagogue retires covered with glory!

All the wit of these people, when occupied in literary subjects, consists of making enigmas and charades in verse, which others are obliged to solve in rhyme: some of these occasionally possess a little point and ingenuity, but neither powerful thought or noble sentiment is manifested. The exclusion of women from their society has been justly adduced as one great cause of that total absence of taste and feeling evinced in the selfish meetings of Musselmen: they abandon themselves to the impetuous fire of imagination, which is always irregular, if not, like the electric spark, guided by its conductor. The language of slavery is generally made up of bombast; while that of liberty is simple and energetic. Although not entirely devoid of fancy, there is at present no very distinguished poet in Barbary. They can sing of ordinary and passing events; but no brilliant thoughts proceed from the heart. The Muses are not fond of chains; nor do I know of any fine poetic composition which has sprung from the degraded leisure of servitude.

It cannot, however, be doubted, that by a rational mode of public instruction, the inhabitants of northern Africa might shortly become an enlightened and illustrious people, as their ancestors were in better days. *Alkindi*, a philosopher, who lived during the Caliph *Almosatem*'s reign, once showed to an interpreter of the laws that stigmatised his fame, the difference which exists between ignorant superstition and illuminated philosophy. Though he might, from his influence and favour at the court of Bagdad, have easily ruined his enemy, he preferred the more generous mode of converting the asperser into a friend; for this purpose he observed, "Your religion commands you to calumniate me, while mine inculcates the necessity of endeavouring to make you a better man and

more valuable member of society: come, therefore, that I may instruct you; after which, if in the same temper of mind, you are at liberty to destroy me." What does the reader imagine the sage of Basra taught his new disciple? Geometry: that alone was sufficient totally to change his barbarous sentiments, into others of gratitude and friendship. Such, too, as observed by a great writer, is the manner in which all superstitious and uncivilized nations should be converted. By causing mathematicians and men of science to precede the missionary, a rude people are taught to combine simple and natural ideas, before they are called upon to comprehend the most abstruse of all subjects, the attributes and power of the Divinity. Reflecting on the present mode of conversion, which is, no doubt, encouraged from the purest motives of philanthropy, it is as if we could expect children to read, without first teaching them the alphabet. It cannot be expected, that modes of improvement, which are rejected by more enlightened nations, should enter into the contemplation of the most terrible of all other sectaries, the followers of Mahomet: they find it more consonant to their barbarous policy to cover the horse's eyes, who is condemned to grind the corn; and, strange to reflect, the people thus led, are apparently contented and slavishly submissive. This indifference to be instructed, is, however, a singular paradox: where all those who happen to acquire a greater degree of wisdom than their more illiterate neighbours, arrive at the highest dignities; and the really learned, almost pass for saints: an honour which is very far from being accorded to the European philosopher, or man of letters.*

* It is, indeed, "a consummation most devoutly to be wished," that the momentous subject thus slightly alluded to, may continue to occupy the attention of all civilized nations, until the grand desideratum of finding out a less erroneous and more effectual mode of bringing man back to the dignity of his nature, is discovered. Having for many years deeply reflected on the paramount importance of this object, and felt the full force of that obligation imposed on us all by religion, reason, and humanity, to rescue the whole of God's creation from barbarism, I cannot be persuaded to believe, that we are not still in our infancy, as far as relates to the great work of civilizing unknown regions. Much

All those who have conceived an adequate idea of the power of a pen, when properly managed, need not be surprised at its effects being so dreaded by the despots of Barbary. Strong as the club of Hercules, and sharp as the scimitar of Scanderbeg, a man of genius, with a pen in his hand, moves in a sphere of his own creation: shut up in his study, he menaces, fulminates, thunders, and commands destiny itself: it is he who immortalizes the actions of heroes, and unveils the most important truths. The pen is also employed to defend injured innocence, and oppressed virtue: it inspires

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as England may take credit to herself for having during the last fifty years led the way in promoting discovery, few who consider the magnitude of the object to be accomplished, can deny, that, independent of those incessant political struggles which have withdrawn the attention of government from such pursuits; nearly all our expeditions have been conducted on a scale, which, though liberal in itself, was very far from being adequate to all the objects in view. I am, indeed, fully aware of the innumerable difficulties which oppose the progress of new discoveries, and of the still more disheartening task of reducing savage nations to a state of civilization. But will any one contend that the efforts hitherto employed by the European powers have increased, as they most unquestionably should, in proportion to these obstacles? Since the voyages of Captain Cook, the last of which terminated in 1780, a period of thirty-eight years has been suffered to elapse without our undertaking any thing in the way of exploring, worthy of so great a nation. Yet a much smaller sum of money, and an infinitely less number of human lives, than foreign wars have cost us, would probably have enabled Great Britain alone, to have sown the seeds of civilization and Christianity all over the habitable globe!!! Into what a labyrinth of thought is not this reflection calculated to plunge the most frigid reasoner? When the tremendous magnitude of this object is considered, with what extreme pity must not a philosophic mind regard the occasional puny efforts of different governments, in sending off one or two vessels, intended to communicate knowledge and happiness to tens of millions, while a military adventurer, like Buonaparté, could by a *senatus consultum*, call out six hundred thousand human beings, and arm them for the purpose of destroying and plundering the species! Heaven knows, the spirit of discord and malevolence has been long enough suffered to devastate Europe and America. When banished from the last named country, it is sincerely to be hoped, that we shall no longer slumber over the great duties which it is so completely in our power to perform, with respect to the uncivilized part of the universe. It only requires a simultaneous movement of all the European sovereigns, in favour of one grand and combined system of exploration; and the oldest amongst us may yet live to see that day, when all the crimes and follies of Europe, would be more than expiated by a certain prospect of the whole human race being emancipated from the fetters of barbarism.

magnanimity of sentiment, and marks the guilty for punishment. The pen preserves our fugitive ideas, gives an impulse to thought, approximates the sighing lover to the object of his affections, and enables us to converse with the absent. More powerful than the voice, which is only a transitory sound, the pen can never be enchained: that which it writes, is spread abroad, penetrates to the interior of palaces, and eternally remains. To this we are indebted for the greatest wonders; when the poet takes the pen, the most harmonious numbers flow from it; and in proportion to their merit, it is either a pen of gold or of

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Then, as one great family, they might look up to their Creator, animated by a common faith, founded on the sublimest of all dogmas, that of "*Doing to others, as we would they should do unto us!*"

Warmed by the contemplation of my subject, the possibility of a scheme like the above, has led to a feeling of exultation in *what might be effected;* which, alas! the recollection of those minor interests that agitate the world, is but too soon calculated to destroy. Enthusiasm is sometimes useful, and often necessary: I will not therefore relinquish mine, until every hope of seeing my favourite system put into effect, has entirely vanished. At present, I confess myself to be extremely sanguine; and draw the most flattering inferences, not only from the general state of the civilized world, but from that disposition, which some sovereigns evince to comply with the rational desires of their people, expressed from the awful tribunal of public opinion; and that opinion is decidedly philanthropic. I forbear entering into needless details, as no individual plan, however perfect, could possibly embrace so complicated a design. It may, however, be proper to inform the reader, that I am not one of the champions of perfectibility: if I were, the sad reality of the times would soon bring me back to reason; but I will say with a great living character, that, if the golden age is not the lot of the present generation, yet, should it have been marked out for any part of human existence, I trust it will be found, not in that which is past, but in some part still to come; and then ask every unbiassed friend of truth, whether it is not as easy to enter into an alliance for the dissemination of knowledge, as the preservation of political power? Also, if he can, by his utmost stretch of thought, conceive a more glorious spectacle for the Divinity, than that of looking down upon the creatures of his hand, availing themselves of the wisdom he has afforded them, for the benign purpose of communicating it to the rest of his creation; instead of living in a state of interminable warfare, and bitter hatred of each other, influenced by passions which constantly degrade them below the level of brutes? Until these simple interrogatories are answered, so as to destroy my hopes, the most uncharitable will not blame me for cherishing the delightful dream of human happiness I have figured to myself, in the ardent wish, that a future generation may witness its entire accomplishment.—*Ed.*

fire! In the hands of a virtuous prince, the pen signs a deed of mercy, concedes an act of grace, and renders happiness to a fellow creature. A beautiful woman takes the pen, it traces her inmost desires: does the man of honour receive an insult, his pen writes, and the offender trembles. There is no possibility of approaching a great man; our pen supersedes the necessity of a personal interview: ashamed to make a tender confession, the pen confides it to a sheet of paper: are we desirous of praising a fine composition; it is said to be written with a flowing pen: a sublime author is extolled; his pen is beautiful, grand and spirited: is a corrupt judge, or perfidious lawyer to be punished, the pen is taken from him.

Mahomet has entitled one of his most important chapters, The Pen; commencing thus, "I swear by the Divine Pen!"—It goes on to say, "It is an article of faith, to believe that this Pen was created by the finger of God. Made of pearls, a rider who should go at full speed for a hundred years, would with great difficulty reach the end of it; the ink at its point is composed of a subtle light, extracted from the sun and stars. The archangel Raphael, is the only being who can decypher the characters written by this brilliant and sparkling tint. This pen has a hundred minor ones subservient to it, which will not cease to write night and day, until the end of time: that which has happened, happens; and will happen!"

The erudite and wise men of Barbary, are pompously called, "Men of the Pen." This epithet is also applied to an inventory, their album, or memorandum books: wherein the Musselmen are in the habit of writing extracts, and depositing their grave thoughts or conversations with men of learning. I could not, however, find out the happy flights or other good things contained in the Moorish memoranda. It has been said of those blank books, or albums, so common in London and Paris, and in which all the ladies are obliged to write something, whether in verse or in prose, that they are like certain individuals who lose in candour what they gain in wit. But with the album of Barbary, the case is somewhat reversed: these lose in can-

dour without gaining in wit: as from all I could collect on the subject, their utmost merit consists in a few worn-out citations from the Alcoran, and occasionally one or two trivial sentences, often repeated as important truths.

While at Algiers, I was once induced to ask an Ulema, if his book, called the Pen, contained any of his public speeches, a copy of his verses, or even some of his enigmas. He answered, that so much had been already written, that people should rather destroy than create; true study consisted in separating the good from the bad, and finally selecting that which was really worth reading. These observations surprised me a good deal, in coming from a Mahometan; and I could not help becoming a convert to his opinions; but I thought him insufferably presumptuous when he afterwards asserted, that he could not only select himself, but teach others to do so; and concluded by informing me, that his principal occupation consisted in approving of what was worthy of being read or studied, which he did both in ancient and modern works, by placing his seal and signature on the title page of each work. In one sense, indeed, this literary colossus might well be called a good pen and great writer!

An obscure and unknown individual, being once elevated to a professorship in a celebrated university, had no sooner arrived at the seat of learning, than he proceeded to leave his card at the different houses of the fraternity: the latter, on observing Professor * * * written on them, lost in conjecture as to the history of their new coadjutor, began to ask each other, "Who knows him?" "Who is this man?" "What has he written?" a person present, answered, "*He has written his name!*" *

* An article, entitled "*La Penna,*" and not differing very materially from some parts of the above, has already appeared in the Giornale Italico, a periodical work, for some years published in London, but now discontinued. Soon after Mr. Pananti's leaving England, one of those persons to whom he was indebted for his subsequent misfortunes, having retained a copy, sent it into the world under his own name; first making a few alterations, in the hope of imposing it on the public as an original. This new instance of perfidy was

While at Algiers, I one day entered the school of an *alfagui*, or learned man; he was surrounded by a great number of disciples, and looked as grave as Dionysius at Corinth. This pedant was so vain and self-sufficient, that when mentioning his own name, he accompanied it by a profound inclination of the head, invariably making two syllables of the word *I*. Nor did he leave me any reason to doubt, that he thought himself fully equal to the legislative warrior: for in pronouncing his name, he was satisfied with merely repeating *Mahomed*, or the son of *Abdallah;* while in more instances than one, I was informed that his own was, *Abn Ebner Ibn Bakari Ben Cocubi!* Notwithstanding all this superficial bombast, he had the talent of persuading his scholars, that there was not such another sage in the kingdom, or a more important personage; and had thus been enabled to establish a degree of subordination and discipline amongst them which I never saw equalled in any part of Europe. It is told of an English monarch, that having once paid a visit to Eton College, in going round with the head master, his majesty kept off his hat while the former remained covered: on shewing the king to his carriage, the master then took his own off, and making a low bow, apologized for his apparent want of respect; and still affecting an air of superiority, added, "Sire, if I had not acted in this way, and the scholars did not think me the first man in your dominions, they would no longer obey me!"

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amongst the number of many other not very agreeable discoveries, made by the author on his return from Algiers. In thus reclaiming his stolen property, Mr. P. very properly observes, "finding the rook ornamented with my feathers, I shall take them back; but do not, in thus asserting my right, plunder any one:

Sebben nè furto è il mio, nè ladro io sono,
Giusto è ritor quel che a gran torto è tolto.

Would that I could as easily recover all that the Algerines, and those who are equally as bad, bereft me of, since I left England!" This is followed by a cutting castigation of the literary pirate; the translation of which is omitted, from motives similar to those stated in the early part of the volume.—*Ed.*

I became acquainted with another alfagui, in one of the principal kioscos of the city. *Speak, that I may know you,* is an old proverb; but all my efforts to draw this sapient character into conversation were completely ineffectual. He was like Apollo, whose oracles were delivered from a cave, into which the sun's rays never entered: he might, perhaps, have possessed talents, but they were deeply hidden within; and an occasional monosyllable was all I could ever extract from him. I was sometimes led to imagine, that he might have been a shrewd politician, who was not over anxious for any body to take the length of his foot. Silence is frequently a great art. On the other hand, this learned gentleman was extremely careful never to commit himself, by saying, "I don't know:" he seemed more anxious that his silence should pass for wisdom. This is also an important qualification, which has often been taught, and is by no means difficult to be learnt. A person having once confided to a friend, the frequent mortification he experienced on being generally obliged to remain silent, for want of more extensive information in a society where various interesting questions were propounded, concluded his complaints, by requesting to be informed whether there was not a method of cutting a better figure in conversation, without compromising one's judgment by making blunders. "Nothing can be easier," replied his friend: "I'll soon put you in the way of becoming a perfect oracle in all companies. In the first place, whenever you hear any persons disputing on subjects of importance, be careful to preserve a respectful silence; but watching the speaker with a significant look, indicate your disapprobation by a slight shake of the head; and when disposed to applaud, let a gentle smile play on your countenance: an occasional *hum* will also be of great use. The champions being worn out with arguing, and no longer able to continue in the field, it is your time to enter the lists: assuming a grave aspect, therefore, you are in a dignified tone thus to express yourself,—"a great deal more may certainly be said on this subject;"—and then resume your usual taciturnity. The company will judge from this specimen of eloquence,

that you can see much farther into the point in dispute, than many of those who have wasted hours in idle talking; but that you are deterred from giving your opinion, lest their patience might be already exhausted. Thus flattered, they will even be grateful for your considerate forbearance in not making them swallow another dissertation."

It will be easily conceived, that medical science is not in a very flourishing state in this part of the world. The Moorish doctors are called *Thibib*, whose only theoretical knowledge is derived from a Spanish translation of Dioscorides:—alchymy is also a favourite study with them. Their mode of treatment would appear somewhat original to an European practitioner; particularly that of pouring melted butter over recent wounds. For the rheumatism, they make punctures with a lancet on the joints which are most affected. To an obstinate sore, fire is applied; and in cases of inflammation, the part is covered with the leaves of certain medicinal plants. To the bites of scorpions or serpents, they apply masticated garlick and onions. External remedies are the only ones in which a medical professor of Barbary has any faith; nor can he be persuaded how a draught or pill conveyed to the stomach, can cure a head-ache: so that, if a patient complain of the latter, a blister is immediately put on, as near the seat of pain as possible. In some other disorders, the Algerine doctor has been known to fill a sick man's mouth with honey, until suffocation ensued. They are also complete followers of Sangrado's system; and, like him, would sacrifice every thing in support of their opinions. According to them, bleeding is an infallible cure for all disorders; as these are said invariably to arise from fullness and inflammation in the circulating fluid. With the most simple method, and concise nomenclature, they cannot be compared to those disciples of Galen and Hippocrates, who were so great in their profession, as to have even invented new maladies.

When a sick man is disposed of in Barbary, he is turned with his face towards Mecca: his death is, however, generally accelerated by the

noisy lamentations of friends, who assemble in the room for some hours before the breath is yielded. The Moors think every European a doctor; as those who live on the other side of the Alps, believe all the Italians are singers. Many give themselves up to empirics, who, amongst other modes of cure, have recourse to charms and incantations: while submitting to the prescription of doctors, their firm belief in predestination and fatalism, destroys all faith in the certainty of his remedies; so that few precautions are ever taken beforehand, every thing being left to destiny. There are some, who will perhaps be inclined to esteem the Mahometans for not being overburthened with confidence in their doctors, whose sins are generally of the *mortal* kind: nor is there, I dare say, much doubt of their giving many a man his passport to the other world.

A commissary, being once charged to deliver certain papers to the captains of some ships, that were on the point of sailing, amongst the rest, was called upon by a medical man on different business; but from the latter's having the appearance of a seafaring person, the captain's first question was, "Pray which vessel do you command?" To which the son of Esculapius replied, "Why, I command the boat of Charon." A doctor, who got up from table in great haste, said to his friends, "Pray excuse me, gentlemen, as I have three or four patients to dispatch."* But to speak more seriously, is it not as bad as killing one's self, to reject medical advice, from mere popular prejudice? The doctor tries his skill, and if not the most enlightened practitioner, he will at least be more likely to do good than harm, in the long trodden path of his profession. A blind man is often enabled to move about in his native place, with as much facility as many strangers who are blessed with sight. Charles Fox used to say,—"I always do what the doctors desire me; and if I die, it will not then be my fault!"

* The comedy of the "Sick Lover" contains a facetious dialogue between the physician of an hospital and a surgeon, who calls on the former to request he would supply him with a *subject*, upon whom he is desirous of making some important anatomical

demonstrations and experiments. The sick lover lays stretched in an adjoining bed, and would just answer his purpose. "I have there," says the doctor, "a poor devil, who cannot hold out much longer, and seems to have been born for you.—He has a cough, which almost takes away his breath, and his stomach is like a cauldron: take my word for it, he'll not tell many more tales; but approach and judge for yourself." The surgeon then advances, and on seeing the sick man, exclaims, "Aye, he'll make a beautiful corpse, indeed! I should give him the preference over a hundred;" and turning to the physician, says, "But, tell me, brother, how soon can you deliver him up to me?" "Why," answered the doctor, "I imagine he won't last longer than till about two o'clock."—"Yes, but I can't return till five," rejoined the surgeon; "won't you be able to spin him out for me till that hour?"—"I'll do what I can," replied the doctor, "and hope, with the aid of soporifics and stimulants, to keep him alive till the hour you mention." The convention agreed on, no time was lost by the physician in fulfilling his promise. He first administered a slight stimulating draught, which soon produced such miraculous effects on the devoted lover, that in less than half an hour, he opens his eyes, raises his head, and puts his feet out of the bed: these preliminary symptoms are soon followed by his descending into the court amongst the convalescents, without being observed by the doctor, who had left him on giving the medicine: returning in a little time, he goes to the lover's bed, confident that it is all over with him, and to his great astonishment, finds it empty. This is still farther increased, when on going to the window, he sees the sick man walking backwards and forwards, perfectly upright with the other patients. How is the disappointed doctor to excuse himself to the surgeon? By the way of completing his embarrassment, the latter comes in before his time, saying, "Well! here I am; all ready to take away what you promised: is the *subject* ready? I suppose it's a little warm yet?" The doctor, with a troubled air, "My dear Sir ———" "What's the matter?"—"I am really very sorry, but ———" "Oh! I understand, he was already promised."—"Far from it," replied the doctor; and then proceeds to relate the melancholy adventure, which ended in the sick man's unexpected resurrection. He adds, that wishing to spin him out, he had completely overdone the business, as the first dose made him jump out of bed, as if nothing had been the matter with him. The surgeon, with whom it was *no joke*, gave him a most serious look; and said, he thought he had to deal with a man of honour; instead of which, the doctor had only trifled with his feelings; and concluded by observing, that when a man pledged his word, it should be religiously kept.

CHAPTER XIV.

State of the Arts in BARBARY.—*Curious Cement and Glue.—Languages of Northern Africa.—Anecdote.—Moorish Music.—Different Instruments.—Singing.—Islamism.—Ridiculous Customs.—Strict Observance of Fasts.—Sanctuary afforded by Mosques, &c.—Holy City.—Paradise of Musselmen.—Pilgrimage to* MECCA.—*Order of the March, and Allusion to the Ceremonies performed there.—Marabouts.—Anecdote.—Vaili, or Saints, their Hypocrisy illustrated.—Facility of being canonized in* BARBARY.—*The Mufti.—Their Office and Powers.—Mode of deciding legal Questions and administering the Laws.—The Imans.—The Muezzins, and Hours of Prayer.—The Koran.—Short Analysis of its Contents.--Anecdote of Dorat, the French Poet.—Commentators on the Koran, &c.*

THE Moors have no idea of sculpture or design, both being prohibited by their religious precepts, which entirely exclude the use of images, or other representations of living objects. If a picture is shewn to them, its excellence is no recommendation: they are dazzled by the variety of tint in a painting, but have no conception of it as an imitative art. In architecture, they are more deeply versed, and build with considerable solidity, while the ornamental part is scarcely considered. The principal cement used at Algiers is called *tabby*; and consists of two portions of wood ashes, three of lime, and one of sand: while mixing up, there is a quantity of oil added, and the whole is beaten with shovels for three successive days, until it has acquired the necessary consistence: exposed to the air, it becomes as hard as marble, and equally impenetrable to all the effects of the atmosphere. Who knows, but this curious mortar may have been originally brought into Mauritania by the Romans, and that the

people of Barbary have thus preserved the important secret; which has given such amazing stability to all the ancient remains of this country and Italy? The question is by no means uninteresting, and will probably occupy the attention of future travellers. The Moorish artisans also prepare a species of glue, from new cheese, out of which care is taken to extract all the milk: to this is added, some of the finest quick lime, which renders it perfectly inaccessible to the effects of humidity. It is strange, that possessing such large quantities of excellent saltpetre, they should be so very backward in the manufacture of gunpowder, particularly the finer sort.

If we except the mere mechanical arts, there is nothing to excite much praise in Moorish industry; all their ingenuity being applied to those trades, most useful in supplying the common necessaries of life. Speaking of my unfortunate companion, Terreni, the minister of the marine once observed to Mr. Mc Donnel and myself: "he is a great acquisition to us: we know him to be a famous artist, and shall lose no time in setting him about painting our ships!"

Alluding to the language of Barbary, it is truly singular, that the Punic should be so totally lost, as to have left no trace behind, except what we occasionally see on the Numidian coins. As to the *Berbera*, it has no connection whatever with the Arabic; which may be called the mother tongue of all the guttural languages of the East. That which is called *shavia* or *shillah*, by the Kabiles, possesses a character of originality, which has often been compared to that of the Hebrew. There is also said to be a most striking similarity between the Berbera and Chinese.

The language used by the indigenous inhabitants of northern Africa, is extremely barren, and little more than the jargon of half civilized people: being very deficient in abstract terminations, conjunctive particles, and various terms of the substantive kind; all of which they are obliged to take from the Arabic. Languages are like articles of commerce: to enrich those who deal in them, they must be reciprocally exchanged. Towards Mount Atlas, there is another

tongue spoken, which is said to have considerable affinity to that of Nigratia: and many of the Moors told me, it was both expressive and sonorous. The Bedouins pretend to an exclusively elegant mode of speaking and pronouncing the Arabic; but that has also experienced a good deal of corruption, which generally increases, in proportion to the distance an Arab is removed from the seat of its original promulgation. Some have, however, asserted, that it is much better spoken in Barbary than Egypt. In speaking Arabic amongst the Moors, the higher orders with difficulty understand each other; while Turkish is adopted in the divan and council of state. The public functionaries, merchants, and Jews on the coast, communicate in a Lingua Franca, indiscriminately composed of Spanish, Italian, and corrupt Arabic. Although all the verbs of this gibberish are used in the infinitive, and it has no prepositions, both strangers and natives are very well able to make it intelligible to each other.

Many of the African terminations are not altogether devoid of force and harmony; as, for example: *aksum*, meat; *skum*, wheat; *chamu*, wine; *fiuff*, a fowl; *jubiutt*, a little girl; *kalm*, coffee; *karamoe*, honour; *mara*, a woman; *valeal*, a young boy; *arghez*, a man; *thamurt*, land; and *asarum*, bread. I could have easily recollected a much greater number of words, but doubted whether it was likely to be of any use. The Guardian Basha, and Rais Hamida, frequently told me, I ought to make a point of learning the Arabic; but if I had, to what purpose could it lead? The celebrated English statesman, Lord Godolphin, one day asked Mr. Rowe, if he knew the Spanish: the poet replied, "that he understood it tolerably well; but that he could, in two or three months, become perfect master of it." "You should do so," said the minister. On this, Rowe, thinking that he was intended for some important post or mission, in which a knowledge of the above language was necessary, immediately retired into the country; and, returning to London after three months of the closest application, waited on his expected patron to inform him, that, according to the latter's recommendation, he had

studied Spanish, until it had become as familiar to him as his mother-tongue. "How I envy your happiness!" said the statesman: "it is now in your power to read Don Quixote in the original!" I wonder what comfort I could have derived from a knowledge of the Arabic, except that of reading the Alcoran, and its three thousand, three hundred and eighty commentators.*

The Arab legislator has, together with all games of chance, and dancing, also proscribed music and singing: the *imaum*, or commentators, have launched forth the most fulminating threats against all those who listen with pleasure to the "harmony of sweet sounds." But these barbarous injunctions have not succeeded in preventing most of the faithful from being extremely fond of music; particularly the instrumental kind. The rich and great generally keep instruments; and many of them, in travelling through the country, are accompanied by musicians, who play a variety of airs at different intervals, while the Moors, seated on some verdant rising ground, seem absorbed in voluptuous ecstacy.

Music is, however, absolutely prohibited in the mosques: regarded as a profanation by the imans, it is only tolerated by the force of custom, and impossibility of even the most savage nations being deprived of its consoling and electrifying effect. A celebrated popular preacher, having once introduced a few airs, selected from the most esteemed operas, into his church service, being reproved by his friends, for thus adapting profane sounds to so holy a purpose, answered, "surely you do not wish the devil to monopolize all the fine tunes?"

While indifferent to vocal music, the Moor, who plays tolerably well on any instrument, will gain more money, than ten of their literati. There are, also, many amateur performers, but these always practice at home; thinking it a degradation to appear in public as

* Pope used to say, that if he had any daughters, they should never be taught a foreign language; one being enough for, and even rather too much for a woman!—*Ed.*

musicians; which, as they say, should be confined to those who get their livelihood by it.

Their principal instruments are, the *arabebbah*, of the violincello species, with one string; the *vebeb*, or Moorish violin, having two strings; and which is played on with a bow, like the violincello; the *gasaph*, a species of octave flute; and the *taun*, which is the *timpanum* of the ancients. I also saw a few badly strung violins, like those of Europe, on which the Moors played, in the manner of our double bass, or violincello. They always play from memory, having no idea of notes; yet they are not without some method, and beat time extremely well with their hands.

Nearly all their songs are of the heroic kind: their historical ones have a sort of preamble; each stanza commencing with a little air on the arabebbah; after which, the recitative goes on, accompanied by the gasaph; and, although this description of music is very monotonous, I did not, on the whole, find it disagreeable. It often reminded me of the national airs of the Welch, and rude highlanders of Scotland. They prefer simple, easy, and tender strains, to the fantastical, roundabout, wandering, and hieroglyphical style of the modern bravura: even the Moors well know that such complicated rhapsodies are not those best calculated to

> ——————Soothe the savage breast,
> Soften rocks, or bend the knotted oak!

A famous violin player having executed a concerto, during which, he produced some appoggiaturi and shakes, that astonished many of his hearers, Dr. Johnson, who was present, remained with the utmost tranquillity and apparent attention till it was over; and not joining in the general plaudits, the professor tapped him on the shoulder, saying, "I assure you, doctor, I have executed some very difficult things in this concerto." "Would, that they had been impossible!" replied the sage.

The religion of Barbary is Mahometanism, blended with various

superstitious practices, which are not only rejected, but contemned by the Koran. The people of this country profess to belong to the sect of *Melechie,* one of the four great divisions into which Islamism has separated. To me, the Turks appeared much more scrupulous in their devotions than the Moors; and, while on board the Algerine frigate, they, alone, regularly performed the usual genuflexions, and dividing into parties of four, never omitted the *Messa,* or grand orison of mid-day. All Musselmen are enjoined by the prophet to offer up prayers five times a day. No person of a different persuasion can enter the mosques: a Christian who violates this law, has only to choose between death and circumcision. On passing the Mahometan temples at Algiers, I always observed at least a hundred lighted lamps suspended in them: when the hour of devotional exercise arrives, there are people expressly appointed to call the faithful together. Ascending the minarets, or tower of the mosque, they cry out with a loud voice, *Lailla Allah, Allah Mahommed resul Allah;* that is to say, there is but one God, and Mahomet was sent by him. On entering the mosque, the believers leave their slippers at the door; and the first movement is that of kneeling towards the *kibah,* or side facing Mecca.

The faithful always carry a rosary in their hand, not for the purpose of saying a *pater noster* like us, but to repeat the attributes of the Divinity: such as, God is great; God is good, wise, long, round, &c. I have frequently seen them sitting for hours together, with their hands behind, and the rosary suspended from them, muttering the above short, but significant phrases. In fact, the bead is to them, what a fan is to a modern belle, or the supple cane carried by our Italian sparks.

They have a hundred puerile customs, which must be observed with scrupulous exactness: for example, the obligation of turning their back to the sun, whenever they stop in the street; that of washing the right side first, and wetting the left, before the other is dry. During the ablutions, they cannot throw water with the left hand;

nor either laugh or blow their nose in the mosque: when praying, they must raise their hands to the cartilage of the ears, and then rub the stomach with one hand: in clasping their hands, the right must be uppermost; and in this state, prayers are to be repeated, while their eyes are steadily directed towards the fingers; on bowing, the hands are placed on the knees: a Mahometan is also to sit down with the left foot under the right, and toes to the east; not to yawn while at prayers, lest the devil should get down his throat. Scrupulously to fulfil these injunctions, is the criterion by which we are to judge of Islamism being adhered to in all its purity.

Fasts are, in most cases, very strictly observed; and some are so exceedingly scrupulous, that they cover their faces to prevent the effluvia of meat from approaching too near. During the short bayram, they are enjoined to give largely in charity; and there is, on these occasions, no scarcity of candidates to receive their alms: but the more rich generally get out of the way and hide themselves, when these appeals are about to be made to their pockets. Owing to his firm belief in predestination, the Mahometan seldom thinks of taking any precautions for the future, particularly where life is merely the object: he is, however, often calm and intrepid in misfortune; bowing the head and repeating, "It was to be."

The mosques afford sanctuary to guilty persons, and so do the chapels and cells of the Marabouts: should the crime be even that of treason, the Dey cannot forcibly possess himself of the delinquent: a wall is built round the spot; and, unable to take him by assault, the culprit is starved into submission.

In the kingdom of Tunis, there are several holy cities; one of which, near the capital, is called *Sidy Bussad*. The Moors have an idea, that in the event of Mecca's being destroyed, the ashes of their prophet will be conveyed to this sacred place. Neither Jews nor Christians can enter it; but if pursued by justice, they may go under the walls, when a tent being given to them, the Moors consider it as an inviolable asylum.

The paradise of Musselmen, is called *corcham.* Amongst other pleasures to be enjoyed there, is that of possessing innumerable houris, whose virginity is renewed every day, who bathe in honey and water of roses, and live in palaces composed of diamonds and pearls. The damned are said to be re-born, and die every twenty-four hours. It is believed, that when a corpse is laid in the grave, two black angels attend, *Gnanequir* and *Mongir;* one of whom has a hammer, and the other iron hooks to replace the departed soul in the body.—These angels ask the dead man, if he was a good Musselman while on earth; and if he does not give a satisfactory account of himself, the angel who carries the hammer, gives him a blow, which drives the body six perches deeper in the earth. If, on the other hand, he can make it appear that he has walked in the way of righteousness while living, the black angels disappear, and two beautiful white ones take their places near the body, where they remain till the day of judgment.

All things, according to these people, are submitted to an inevitable destiny, which they call *Narsip* or *Facter;* but they fully confide in the Char-allha, or justice of God. This cabalistic word is held in the highest veneration; and no one can refuse appearing before the tribunal, if he who cites him pronounces Char-allha.

But of all the duties and ceremonies connected with Islamism, the pilgrimage to Mecca is by far the most important: from the very earliest infancy, the advantages and glory of this holy journey, is constantly impressed on the mind of every Mahometan; and should he die in the undertaking, so much the more happiness is reserved for him in paradise. Returning in safety, he is honoured with the title of *Haggi,* and looked up to as one who has performed wonders. This voyage is, in fact, the great object of a believer's life, and to the hope of accomplishing it, there is no sacrifice which he is not prepared to make: working for years to procure the means of visiting the sacred shrine, the greater the difficulties to be surmounted, the more merit acquired by him who succeeds in the enterprize. Interest, too, which scarcely ever ceases to operate on the mind of

man, is not forgotten by the pious Musselman in his trip to Mecca; which he generally makes subservient to an earthly as well as heavenly reward, by combining mercantile speculation with the sanctified offices of religion.

A motive of common safety and mutual defence leads to those associations of pilgrims, called *Caravans*, from *Caroun*, a passage from one place to another: that of Barbary, known by the title of the *Mogrebeni*, is formed at Morocco; being joined on its route by all the pilgrims of the three regencies. It traverses the parched and dreary deserts of Lybia; and on getting to Cairo, meets the grand re-union of those who frequent the holy city from Egypt and Constantinople.

On leaving his house, the pilgrim recites the *Fathea*, meaning commencement; and when the general prayer is offered up in the leader's tent, all the faithful begin the journey by the sound of music, in the following order:—The camels and mules in front; then come the pedestrians: while those mounted on horseback form the rear guard. A Christian may accompany the caravan, if he has a passport from some Arab prince, or governor of a city. He may also place himself under the protection of its chief: they generally start before sun-rise, dine at noon, and rest for the night at four. The annual pilgrims of Barbary, usually amount to three thousand; most of whom are well armed: their camp has all the appearance of being a military one, so that the predatory Arabs scarcely ever attempt to molest them. These caravans take a hundred days to reach Mecca: the places of encampment are settled before hand. During the seven hours of travelling in each day, the march seldom exceeds twenty miles. From Cairo, the Grand Seignor allows an escort, while the united pilgrims travel under the command of a Bey, called *Emir Hagge*, or the Prince of Pilgrims. Before this officer is borne the *Feneich Chersi*, or standard of the prophet. The caravan is generally followed by a number of cooks and other purveyors, who expose their different articles for sale every evening when the halt takes place. The more wealthy pilgrims often take their wives with them;

these are carried in litters, or seats suspended on each side of the camel, which are covered with veils, to keep off the sun's rays or vulgar gaze. The rich also provide themselves with litters, in case of sickness or over fatigue, while a hundred are supplied by the liberality of the sultan.

The number of pilgrims who meet at Cairo, usually exceed forty thousand. The last night previous to moving, is passed in great festivity: and as the Musselmen are, on these occasions, accompanied by their wives and relatives, it is said to be rather favourable to Mahometan intrigue; as the ladies have entire liberty while the feast continues. To behold, on those vast plains, a thousand tents of different hues in day-light, and illuminated by innumerable brilliant lamps at night; a world of people moving about the spacious promenades formed between their portable habitations; the capital of Egypt in the distance, and the waters of the Nile flowing majestically along; and to hear the shouts of joy which rend the air on every side, is a sight hardly to be equalled by any other in the universe.

Many eastern travellers have spoken of the pilgrimage to Mecca, of the great sacrifice of three days on the mountain of Arefat, where it is thought Abraham was on the point of immolating his son Isaac; of the adoration in Abraham's house, which some call the house of God, and where the Divinity is supposed to be always present; of the famous well of Zezem; the presentation of the carpet sent annually by the Grand Seignor to cover the Caaba, or holy sepulchre; of the celebrated Aswad, or black stone, brought from Heaven by the angel Gabriel;* the rites practised in putting on the Ihram, of the great ablution under the Golden Sewer; of the *Sais*, or seven turns

* I defy the most highly favoured courtezan of Europe to boast of so many kisses and embraces as this sacred relic; it being customary for each pilgrim to apply his lips to it every time he goes round the temple. The frequency of this ceremony has given rise to a favourite proverb amongst the eastern poets, which might be adopted in more northern climes, without doing much violence to veracity. In addressing certain indulgent dulcineas, they say, "You have received more caresses than the black stone of Mecca!"

round the pillar, and finally, of the return by Medina and Jerusalem. The caravans are not allowed to put up in the city, but are encamped in the vicinity, maintaining a degree of tranquillity and order, which is truly surprising, considering the immense concourse of people who frequent Mecca at that time.

According to the order of the voyage, the Mogrebini should arrive at Mecca a little after the other pilgrims from Turkey, and leave it rather before; lest, as the believers apprehend, the holy city should be seized by them. No sooner has the caravan set out on its return to Cairo, than provision convoys are sent to meet it: one on the same day; another in fifteen; and a third, twenty-two days after its departure. This precaution consoles the weary pilgrim on his tedious journey; but of all his sources of consolation, nothing equals that of discovering the pure waters of the Nile: it is then that friends and relatives go out and welcome the *Haggi*. With numberless demonstrations of joy, preceded by drums and music, the time is passed in continued embraces; and although ever so limited in their means, the day of return is sure to be one of liberal festivity, in which the Haggi treats all his friends, and relates the wonders he has seen. It is said, that some have been known to put their eyes out on returning from Mecca; saying, that there was nothing on earth worth seeing after making the pilgrimage.

The saints, or holy men of Barbary, are called *Vaili*, but their more common appellation is Marabout, meaning a man tied round the middle with a cord. These are a species of monks who inhabit small cells or temples, which are styled Marabouts after themselves.

Many of this secluded class are possessed of great virtue, exclusively devoting their time to works of charity and benevolence: succouring the indigent, curing the sick, and consoling the afflicted, they exalt the dignity of our perishable nature; while others, and not a few, can only be compared to the "wolves in sheeps' clothing" so emphatically described by the apostle; and, like the false prophets of old, chiefly delight in works of iniquity and darkness.

Although capable of pursuing the most austere life, and suffering the greatest privations without murmuring, the Marabouts have never made a specific vow of continency, thinking its fulfilment an absolute impossibility. Often held in contempt by the great, they are frequently beaten by the Turkish soldiery: but whenever one of them dies, he is buried with great ceremony; a mausoleum is erected over his grave, and a lamp is kept constantly burning in it. The Moorish ladies are wonderfully attached to these sanctuaries, to which numbers go daily for the purpose of offering up their devotions: they are, on these occasions, generally followed by a slave; and some have been ill-natured enough to say, that many of these visits are blended with sentiments of a more tender and worldly nature than those of mere devotional exercises. The Marabouts, like more civilized divines, are particularly fond of contending for precedence; and during religious processions, warmly dispute their respective places, attaching infinite importance to the most insignificant trifles. But from what sphere of human life is pride and vanity excluded?

Two men with pallid countenances, trembling limbs, and apparently unable to articulate from the effects of strong passion, once presented themselves before the manager of a theatre, to complain of the gross insult and injustice which had been done them. "But what's the matter?" asked the astonished manager; upon which one of the party, in a stammering voice, said,—"As you well know we are the principal grotesque dancers of your theatre, and have hitherto, with the greatest alacrity, personified either a lion, elephant, or bear, as the occasion required; but always on condition that we should move forwards in such characters. However, in the rehearsal of this morning, they wanted us to walk backwards! We therefore come to say, that you may kick, or use any other indignity you like towards us, in our capacity of elephant or bear; but rather discharge us altogether than allow us to be exposed to the above humiliating degradation and insupportable disgrace!"

The inviolable sanctuary afforded by the Marabouts to crimi-

nals of every kind, is commended by a modern traveller, as one of the very few institutions worthy of praise in those despotic regions, where the inhabitants, deprived of all civil guarantees, frequently find these asylums a resource for persecuted innocence.* Many of the saints have been often known to obtain such popularity, as to govern a number of the tribes in their neighbourhood, which they have even found the means of exempting from tribute. When travelling, they are followed by an immense concourse of people; some of whom are armed for their protection. On these occasions, governors of provinces and other dignitaries go out to meet them, and join the multitude in singing the praises of the *Vaili*.

If any proof were required of the degraded condition of human nature in this country, it would be found in the extraordinary and almost unaccountable veneration shewn towards fools and ideots. This is said to arise from a belief of the latter's being considered as absorbed in celestial contemplation, which prevents their descending to earthly concerns.

Some of these fanatical maniacs are endowed with much more extensive privileges, and looked up to with greater esteem than others. Persons about to take a long journey, or who meditate any important project, go and consult them as the Greeks did their oracles. Battle is never given by the general of an army without previously consulting the Vaili, who hold the place of the augurs and sacred pullets of the Romans. The caravans too, are always accompanied by some of this holy race; and thus protected, freely pass the most savage tribes, like the Troubadours and bards of the Gauls and ancient Britons. After the harvest is got in, the Moors present them with the first-fruits: they are also freely permitted to enter any shop or garden, and take away whatever is most agreeable to them.

It will not, after the above short description of the African saints, excite much surprise, when I add, that there are a number of impostors amongst them, who find it extremely convenient to assume the appearance of ideots, in order the more easily to impose on the

credulity of the public; while the self-created gift of prophecy is frequently made an engine of sedition and revolt, and in this state of heavenly inspiration, almost every violence is tolerated. This dangerous privilege is grossly abused by some of these *soi-disant* saints, who will often, in a moment of atrocious phrenzy, and while foaming at the mouth, attack the inoffensive passengers, biting and tearing their clothes, while the latter are earnestly occupied in prostrating themselves before the consecrated madman or impostor, and with caresses endeavour to calm his brutal fury. I heard of one, who for a long time, used to stand at the door of the great mosque at Algiers, provided with a cord, which he continued to apply to the neck of some devoted wretch for several successive Fridays, without any effort being made to prevent this assassinating mania, until a number of inoffensive people had been strangled by the wretch.

On another occasion, a lady returning from the bath was seized by a Vaili, and publicly exposed to the greatest indignity; fortunately, however, she thought herself more than blessed by this act of sacred condescension, as the women of India, who are favoured by the attention of their idols and Brachmins. Upon this occasion, the Moorish lady was surrounded by a multitude of the faithful, who rent the air with shouts of joy, and warmly felicitated her on the distinguished honour she had experienced: borne in triumph to her husband, he was also destined to receive universal congratulation; and what is still more, join in the exultation of his friends!

A third instance of this savage violence, will not be quite so palatable to the European reader.—The daughter of a Christian resident at Algiers, being once met in the street by an impostor of the above tribe, he intimidated her companions to such a degree, that they were glad to make their escape; after which, delicacy forbids me to repeat the dreadful manner in which the monster treated the unhappy object of his rage. Her father, who was a merchant of opulence and respectability, had immediate recourse to the Dey, who, by the way of redress, told him he ought to consider himself fortunate

that his daughter was likely to become the mother of a saint, and thus ended the whole affair.

Some find it answer their purposes of delusion, to assume the title of prophets, in addition to saintship: in this case, they make a solemn entry into the city on horseback, and being met outside the walls by an immense concourse of people, are preceded by streamers: these assemblages are generally attended by numbers of women, who exert themselves in common with the men, to touch the saint, or kiss the hem of his garment: and it is even incredible to think of what indelicacies they are guilty of, to attract his notice: looking upon every sacrifice of modesty, as justified by the sanctified occasion which calls it forth: even the Dey and his ministers, as well as the besotted populace, are frequently made subservient to the views of these prophesying miscreants.

It is in this country, as common for a man to call himself a saint, as for people amongst us to say, "I am a smith, carpenter, lawyer, philosopher, poet, or great man!" And, like nobility in Europe, the holiness of Mahometans passes from father to son; where the latter is respected equally with his father, because he possessed the same privileges, dignity and titles.

Those of the saintly brothers who follow the armies, are less tainted with fanaticism than timidity; which generally forms so great a share in their character, that they seldom give their advice in favour of attacking the enemy. Owing to this disposition, the hostile armies remained two whole months in sight of each other, during the late war between Tunis and Algiers, without a drop of blood being shed. It would be very desirable were a few of these pacific saints to accompany European armies, and remain in the cabinets of those sovereigns who have rather too great a predilection in favour of war.

Those sanctified barbarians, who are so generally looked up to, do not all possess an equal degree of power; nor are they invoked for the same object: many supplicate them for a good harvest; while others apply for a successful termination of their military enterprizes. There

are some also, amongst the "holy men," to whom the prayers of the ladies are tendered, for the laudable purpose of increasing their families: these invocations are conducted with great vehemence and secresy; and, as may be easily conceived, are seldom made in vain, being found, generally, to produce the desired effect. It is by this benign interference of the Barbary saints, that many despairing wives unexpectedly find themselves in that situation, which all ladies wish to be, who love their lords!

The Moorish doctors, or literati, called *ulemas*, form a respectable body in those countries, where there is no other study, except that of interpreting the Koran, and the numerous commentators by whom it has been either obscured or illustrated. This body is divided into three distinct classes: the minister of religious worship, called *imans;* doctors of the law, styled the *mufti;* and those of justice, called *cadi*. Each city, or considerable town, has its mufti; whose office consists, not in turning the precepts and decrees of the Koran to his own construction of law; but merely announcing what they are, in a clear and specific manner, to any aggrieved person, who may find it necessary to apply for justice. The decision arising out of this appeal to the experience and wisdom of the mufti, is called *fethwa:* each citizen or subject, has a right to call upon the above officer, and obtain his opinion upon all matters of religion, law, or morals, in which his interests or happiness may be involved, without incurring one farthing's expence; and the judges even invite suitors of every kind to procure a fethwa, previous to their appearing in a court of justice. This has frequently the effect of putting a stop to unnecessary litigation, while it serves more than a thousand professions, to convince the people of the upright integrity of the magistrates; and, in case of proceeding to trial, encourages the judge to give his sentence in perfect conformity to the mufti's opinion.* These means, however equitable in appear-

* This short account of the law officers in Barbary might be very profitably studied by some Italian judges and legislators of the present day, particularly those of a certain capital, not two hundred miles from Pisa; where a culprit who had broken into the lodgings of a

ance, are said to be only efficacious with the lower classes of society; because, as observed by an intelligent traveller, the occasional injustice of the tribunals, does not consist in the application of the law, but the mode of proving and ascertaining facts. The party, who is desirous of prosecuting, makes out a written and anonymous application to the mufti, stating his case, to which the latter generally gives a laconic answer; as, "it can, or cannot be:" "it is lawful, or unlawful." If the question should be altogether new, and neither the Koran fethwas or precedents, contained in the books of former imans, furnish a rule for the mufti, he dare not give a decided opinion; but contents himself by declaring, that the article in question is not to be found in any of the canonical books, or *kutub menterebè*. If the matter relates to an affair of public right, the mufti calls in the aid of the principal ulemas; all of whom are influenced in their decision by the fethwa, or precedents dictated by the Koran, and other legal authorities.

The mufti always dress in white: they are nominated by the Dey; who in his choice, generally selects men of the greatest probity and reputation: they are consulted in all great state affairs, nor is any thing of consequence undertaken without their approbation.

The imans, or priests, are charged with the custody and direction of the mosques: they must not only be well versed in the Koran, but enjoy an untainted reputation before they are admitted to the sacred office; and are generally selected from those who are employed to call the people together from the towers and minarets, at the different hours of prayer. Whenever an iman dies, the populace present some one to the Dey's consideration, who, they assure his highness, is every

French traveller last year, and robbed him of money and clothes to a large amount; being seized with some of the stolen property concealed on his person, was not only liberated without prosecution, but suffered to retain my friend M. De V.'s money and effects! One of the reasons assigned by *Il Signor Presidente de la Gran Corte Criminale*, for his conduct on the above extraordinary occasion was, that of there not being witnesses to prove they saw the thief break into the room, and take the property in question. So much for the administration of justice in Italy!—*Ed.*

way qualified to succeed the deceased. A loud and sonorous voice is the first recommendation a candidate for this station can possess: the Moors are, in this respect like our peasantry, who, when inclined to praise their curate, say "he has a fine voice." The mufti have no jurisdiction over the imans, nor is there either superiority or hierarchy amongst the Mahometan priesthood. The Moors do not imagine that any particular distinction can attach to an iman, from his office; and when no longer invested with his charge, he returns to an indiscriminate mixture with the community. In Barbary *semel abbas* is not always *abbas;* but while in office, and discharging its duties with fidelity, they enjoy a wonderful degree of popularity and favour, both with the people and government. In writing to the imans, the Dey always begins by the following expressions: "Thou, who art the glory of judges and wise men; who art the treasure of knowledge, sanctity, and excellence, &c."

The *muezzin,* charged with the office of calling the faithful to prayer, and *nuezam,* or public exhortations, also form another venerable body in Algiers.

The prophet calls prayers the columns of religion and keys of Paradise: these must be repeated five times during the twenty-four hours; first at day-light, the second at noon, and so on, at equal intervals, till an hour and a half after dark. The Turks are of opinion, that no consideration on earth should deter or prevent them from this sacred duty: neither the orders of the sultan, to extinguish a fire that may have broke out in their own dwelling, or repel the assault of an enemy; being, in their opinion, sufficient to justify their omission.

No sooner is the warning from the minarets heard, than all the Mussulmen instantly quit whatever they are about, and falling on their knees, seem absorbed in the most profound meditation. The *ezzun,* or cry of the Muezzins, supply the place of bells, which are unknown amongst the Mahometans. The sacred heralds thus appointed to summon the faithful to prayer, are usually distinguished

for melodious and loud voices: this has a much more impressive effect than the European mode of announcing similar ceremonies. Reaching the highest part of the tower, which generally dominates the mosques, the muezzin shuts his eyes, and putting his hands up to the ears, turns towards the east, preparatory to the ezzun's being vociferated. The tranquillity and silence which prevail where carriages are not used, render it easy for these aerial announcements to be heard at a very considerable distance, more particularly at day-break. These periodical appeals to the Mahometans, struck me as possessing a considerable share of grandeur and majesty. A pleasing agitation is created in the mind, when at early dawn, a soft and impressive voice repeats these sublime but simple words: "Come to prayers; hasten to the temple of health; adoration is preferable to sleep!"

After each prayer, the Musselman has recourse to his rosary, saying at the first bead, "O, holy God!" passing to the second, he repeats, "Praise be to God!" at the third, "Great God!" and so on till the ninety-nine of which it is composed, are successively counted. As the canonical prayers never solicit any particular favour from the Divinity, when over, the Mahometan holds his hands up like one who is in the act of receiving something from above: after this, the right is applied to his beard, and the words, God be praised! repeated as if some favour had been actually received: and with this formula the devotion terminates. When circumstances permit of it, and no mosque is near, the open air is preferred from its purity, as the most proper place to offer up prayers; and if unprovided with the mat, usually carried for this purpose, the haik or bernousse is spread over the spot. In the midst of those numerous puerilities that disgrace their worship, some of which have been already noticed, there are some very rational and praiseworthy maxims inculcated by the Mahometan faith: every housekeeper is, for example, obliged to supply a poor man with a measure of corn or flour on a certain day of the month, while it is also customary on the first day of Bayram, for the head of each family to kill a calf or goat with his own hand, and having prepared a small part of it for his own use, the rest goes to the neigh-

bouring poor who present themselves. Besides the above, there is a still more important obligation imposed on all true believers, that of giving up to the poor a specific proportion of their whole annual income: this is called the tenth alms-giving. The extraordinary stress which Mahomet laid on this benign and transcendent virtue, seems to have been the only redeeming quality in his otherwise sanguinary character; and while all must deplore the fatal influence he contrived to obtain over so large a portion of mankind, none can deny that his charitable institutions were worthy of a much better cause.

The Koran, commonly styled Alcoran in Europe, is the sacred book of Musselmen, which includes all the precepts of their imaginary prophet. The word koran signifies reading, or that which ought to be read; nor is there I believe any other in the world more generally studied: the followers of Islam always carry it about their persons: thousands are constantly employed in transcribing it; while nothing else is meditated on, or thought of by the true believers, of whom it may be said: *Timeo lectorem unius libri.* Yet, strange to reflect, this book, so venerated and read by the followers of Omar and Aly, as well as all the other sects of Mahometanism, is a compilation without order, taste or dignity: the very title placed at the head of each chapter, as, The Cow, Ant, and Frog, being a sufficient indication of its general absurdity. It gravely inculcates the pursuit of trifles, and practice of imbecility: full of fabulous and unmeaning phraseology, marked by pompous diction, bombastic metaphor, and inflated style, it certainly boasts a few good moral truths, which all religious legislators have been obliged to adopt, to ensure the approbation of their followers, as well as encourage proselytism. But the Alcoran, without being susceptible of the most remote comparison with the sacred books of Christianity, even in purity of doctrine or sublimity of morals, is confessedly far inferior to the Vedam and Ezourvedam of the Hindoos, or the Zendevasta of Zoroaster; and above all, the sublime dogmas of Confucius, the philosophic legislator of the Chinese.

The Koran, similar to various modern productions of Europe, is really worthy of admiration; not within, but on the outside. It may

be compared to a middling picture, ornamented with a splendid frame: nothing, indeed, can exceed the richness of decoration with which the book of Mahomet is every where covered: the bindings of some copies being studded with diamonds and pearls; while the very bag in which they are carried, is embroidered with the greatest care: the margins too, are beautifully illuminated, and covered with a profusion of gold; like many of the ancient codes and manuscripts to be seen in some of the great libraries of Europe. I saw several of the above description while at Algiers, and should have most willingly made the acquisition of one or two; not to convert their contents into prayer, or admire the son of Abdallah's poetry, but for the sake of admiring these charming gilt edges, and beautiful hieroglyphics! Mahomet, both as a prophet and poet, would, no doubt, disdain to have his books only kept for purposes so unworthy of them: he would not, however, be the only author, and more especially poet, whose books were bought for no other end. Dorat, an elegant and sprightly French poet, but who was not remarkable for much solidity in his compositions, which were, besides, often disfigured by affectation and egotism, caused a splendid edition of his works in four volumes, with engravings by the first artists, to be published at Paris. Being one morning in his bookseller's shop, an English gentleman came in, and, in a loud tone, asked for the famous edition of M. Dorat's works. Upon this, the poet felt a flush of joy overspread his countenance, and growing a head taller at least, already contemplated an ode in praise of that illustrious people, who alone know what true liberty is; and amongst whom the value of talents and virtue are sure to be appreciated. *Milord Anglais* having enquired the price, was informed it was four louis; upon which the money was instantly put down: and when the bookseller begged to know whether he could send them to the purchaser's hotel; the latter said, it was quite unnecessary, as he could take them home himself, the weight being a mere trifle: on saying this, he took a pair of scissars, and, having carefully cut out all the plates and vignettes, put them into his pocket, and departed, leaving the books on the counter. It is needless to add, that Dorat changed his tone, and,

thenceforth, breathed nothing but curses on the proud nation, which was ever envious of French talent, and, above all, incapable of appreciating the merit of *his* poetry!

According to Musselmen, the Koran contains all the light of knowledge and depth of wisdom; while those who deny its infallibility in these points, are inevitably condemned to remain buried in everlasting darkness and error. The importance thus attached to their great rule of faith, will account for there being scarcely any other books read by Mahometans, than the interpretations and commentaries which have appeared in immense numbers on the sacred volume. So incredible was the accumulation of commentaries, even in the days of the first caliphs, that one of the greatest of the prophet's descendants, impressed with a due sense of the scandalous obscurity into which so many enthusiastic commentators had thrown the whole contents of the Koran, caused more than two hundred camels, laden with the impure trash, to be conveyed to the banks of the Euphrates, and there precipitated their precious burthens into the stream. Notwithstanding the above very wise arrangement, innumerable comments are still in existence, and are continually increasing. Why, said I, one day to a ulema, should there be so many comments and explanations on the Koran? Surely they must give rise to great confusion, and very frequent repetitions of the same subject. The following was his reply: "there is no other method of proceeding in the arduous path of knowledge: wisdom is only communicated to the mind by gradual and slow degrees. Every sublime book should be involved in mystery and darkness, until a learned, and well-intentioned man interprets it; a second wise man will improve on the first; and a third upon the second; and thus the very summit of truth is finally attained: after a hundred, two hundred, and if necessary a thousand commentators, we shall arrive at a perfect elucidation of the Koran in all its splendor." I was not a little gratified at this luminous display of eloquence, and did not fail to congratulate the doctor on the probable result of going on with commentaries; which, though somewhat late, it must be confessed, bid fair in the long

course of centuries, to make that clear, which is still completely unintelligible to the profoundest capacity. Amongst us, it is to be feared that there has been no small degree of sympathy operating with those who have laboured to explain the Koran: for whether we call to mind the various attempts made to elucidate our old poets, dramatic works, legal writers, or derivation of languages; many have only rendered darkness more visible, by their pious efforts to inform the public. I doubt, however, if the glorious uncertainty into which these gentlemen have thrown subjects, extremely simple in themselves, has had any effect in diminishing the emolument derived from their labours. A poet having once produced a tragedy, to which there seemed to be neither head nor tail, or any clue by which the public could divine his object, was reproved for having expressed himself in so confused a style, and told he might as well have written in Arabic, as far as the audience were concerned; answered, " so much the better, people will come the second night, to ascertain the meaning of what they could not understand during the previous representation!" *

* This reply might be made with singular propriety by some modern poets. And those who have arrogated to themselves the exclusive privilege of directing the popular feeling in matters of theatrical taste, might, with equal justice, inscribe it over the proscenium of more theatres than one, instead of *Veluti in Speculum.* No wonder that people should call those degenerate times, in which Shakspeare, Otway, and Dryden, Congreve, Farquhar, and Sheridan are laid on the shelf, for the ignoble purpose of gaining a few additional pounds, at the expence of that patriotism and public virtue which it should ever be the paramount object of scenic representation to inculcate. Impartial men generally agree, that nothing can be more lamentable than the melodramatic rage which has, of late years, taken almost undivided possession of the British stage, so rich in all that constitutes moral and poetic excellence. This is certainly not amongst the most useful continental importations; and I trust the period is not very remote, when animated by a more liberal and disinterested spirit, patrons and managers will not only unite, to restore the manly and pure taste of their predecessors, but establish theatres in which it will not be necessary to sacrifice the purity of national feelings for the base lucre of private emolument.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER XV.

Nature of the Algerine Government.—Its Character.—The Regency.—Divan.—Power of the Dey.—His Election, and Mode of conducting it.—Attributes and Prerogatives of the Dey.—Method of administering Justice.—Cause of his Popularity.—Dangers which environ a Dey's Person.—Anecdotes of some late Chiefs.—Fascinations of Power and Ambition.—Reply of a Polish Monarch.—Account of Ali Bassa, the reigning Dey.—His Death.—Anecdotes.—Notice of Ali's Successor, Mezouli.—Omar Aga.—The Council of State.—By whom it is generally composed.—Effects of a Dey's being dethroned.—Various Political Reflections.—Account of the different Officers composing the Dey's Administration.—Mode of the Consuls applying for Redress.—Description of inferior Officers.—General Character of the Dey's Ministers.—Remarks.—Anecdotes, &c.

IF whatever I may have hitherto said, relative to the government established in Algiers, is not likely to have created a very favourable prepossession in its favour on the reader's part, the following hints are still less calculated to induce any change in his opinions. A foreign militia, kidnapped in the Turkish states, have long been suffered to usurp all the political power of the regency; and, as the melancholy experience of past times has amply proved, that government which is formed of adventurers and soldiers of fortune, is very rarely, if ever, conducted on any other principles than those of rapine and violence. In such a state of things, there is no check to the inordinate ambition of the military leader, except in the fear of dethronement or assassination; while the insidious partizans of faction easily divide the turbulent, who are destined by turns, to elect

and overturn the temporary ruler: thus rendering the very ministers of oppression, victims to their own dangerous principles of liberty. Despotism has ever had a natural tendency to unite the evils of anarchy, with those of tyranny; and, as may be readily imagined, the ferocious soldiery of Algiers, like those of other countries, can only delight in that state wherein their lawless power, and sanguinary importance has once been exerted: deluded by a criminal love of glory, they boast of that freedom, which is derived from the fatal privilege of oppressing the multitude, and spreading desolation around. If informed that they would be more happy under equitable laws and a wise government; obeying a sovereign whose legitimacy was derived from a virtuous determination to employ his sacred authority, for the maintenance of public liberty and peace, in opposition to violence and disorder; they would answer in the language of an old Afghan chief, quoted by an English traveller: "we glory in discord, agitation, and blood; nor can we ever love a master!" Under the iron hand of military power, and foreign oppression, where the character of the government includes a mixture of low cunning, hypocrisy, suspicion and cruelty, the enslaved people must lose every sentiment of honour and of dignity. It has been well and truly said, that a nation of savages, who may be led into the commission of some crimes, are infinitely better than a civilized people incapable of virtue.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the Algerine government is a species of military republic; whose head exercises despotism in its most undisguised form. What we call the regency, is composed of a prince, styled Dey; the Turkish Janizaries; and council of state formed by the principal ministers, called Dowane, known by the title of divan in Europe. As to the regency, it is merely an empty name; for all the power is unequivocally vested in the supreme chief. A driver who conducted a coach, drawn by four horses, in lashing the leaders, cried, "run, go on, don't be overtaken;" and to the others, "exert yourselves, or you'll be left behind;" was asked by a person

who heard him, "why do you deceive the poor animals with such fine talking? Don't you see they are in harness, and cannot go from each other?" "I know it," replied the coachman; "but in the meantime, I carry the whip, the vehicle advances, and finally arrives."

The government of Algiers cannot be called a mixed one, although it is certainly composed of all the worst qualities which can appertain to the most vitiated forms. The chief is almost invariably elected amidst assassination and crime: stimulated by democratic violence in its most hideous shape, the prince is invested with unlimited power; while an insolent aristocracy is ever ready to support his iniquitous proceedings; the whole forming a military domination, with its inseparable abuses, accumulated violence, and brutal ferocity.

The Dey originally springs from the Turkish soldiery, always obtaining his rank by election, and not hereditary succession, which is unknown in this regency.

On the demise of his chief, each soldier proceeds to the palace, and offers his vote in favour of the new candidate whom he wishes to elevate to the vacant dignity; and if the latter is not approved by all, he is excluded: the ballot continuing until one alone obtains the undivided suffrages. According to Falstaff, "some are born great, while others have greatness thrust upon them." The elected, whether he wishes it or not, must become dey; because all that happens on earth, was pre-ordained above, and mortals are not permitted to resist the decrees of Heaven. By the same rule, any one who thinks his party sufficiently powerful, may depose the newly elected chief; and after assassinating him, occupy his place with impunity: as this was also predestinated, and must have taken place on earth.

It can be easily conceived, that these elections, where the entire unanimity of a licentious soldiery is required, must be conducted with the fury of the most violent factions: when, therefore, a considerable majority has invested one of their own members with the new office, the malcontents generally collect in another quarter of the palace; and, having become sufficiently numerous, conspire against the recently

appointed chief; rushing into the hall of audience, he is instantly dispatched, and the leader of the plot, whose hands are stained by his blood, assumes the royal mantle; leaving the terrified spectators no alternative between silent submission and a similar fate. At another time, the Janizaries, who remain tumultuously assembled in the Cassarias, send a herald to the Dey, with orders to quit the palace; and planting themselves in the avenues leading to it, he no sooner obeys the summons, than his head is struck off. Upon some occasions, recourse is had to poison, or he is assassinated in going to the mosque. It frequently happens, that a bold and sanguinary member of the divan, will strike him down in the midst of his officers; and even contrive to maintain his usurped authority, with the very scimitar which has severed the head of his predecessor: thus establishing a series of crimes on the successful perpetration of the first. These ferocious rivals in violence and rapacity, whose election takes place in the midst of tumult and blood, seldom fail to adopt the well-known maxim of a Tartary chief: "If you wish to keep the state in repose, let the sword of vengeance be constantly brandishing!"

The ceremonies which follow a new election do not occupy much more time than the event itself. These merely consist of the fortunate candidate's being covered with the caftan, which is the *ermined robe* of Algiers; and when seated on the cushion of state, he is saluted by the soldiers crying,—"We consent: be it so: God send him prosperity!" He is then proclaimed by the chief mufti, who reads aloud the obligation imposed by his office, reminding him that God having called him to the government of the republic, his authority should be employed to punish the guilty, and execute justice with impartiality; to benefit the state, provide for its internal security, and cause the soldiery to be regularly paid. This done, the principals kiss hands; the attendant Janizaries salute their new master, whose elevation is announced to the people by frequent discharges of cannon; and thus ends the ceremony.

The first step generally taken by an Algerine chief after his election, is that of immediately changing all the officers of government, by putting in creatures of his own, and others who may have been most active in contributing to his elevation. Not contented with displacing his enemies or rivals, the new Dey frequently causes all the ministers of his predecessor to be strangled; takes possession of their treasures; receives large presents from those who are nominated to succeed them; and by thus enriching himself, he is enabled, by a well-timed show of munificence amongst the soldiery, at once to increase his party and consolidate his power. Ali Dey, who was elected after the tragical death of Ibrahim, surnamed the Madman, caused no less than seventeen hundred individuals to be massacred on his accession to power. The universal murmuring of the people had no effect on this monster; who, being determined to satiate his sanguinary disposition, invented the story of a conspiracy against his person, which was merely a pretext for deluging the streets of Algiers with blood.

The head of a government like the above, never looks upon himself as being raised to power by the esteem or affections of the people. With him, the sovereignty is considered as the result of his own personal exertions, and previous destiny: no wonder, therefore, that his administration should be little more than a counterpart of what we have witnessed in all those countries, where the triumphant chief of a faction has been invested with temporary power.

It was originally intended, that the Deys should only retain their office for six months at a time; but those who get wealth or power once into possession, are seldom disposed to surrender it: at first, this officer was only the Grand Seignor's viceroy, commanding a species of military aristocracy; but gradual encroachments, at length, enabled him to establish an independent domination. Although his election is, both in spirit and form, modelled on that of the most democratic republic, nothing can exceed the despotic manner in which his reign

is conducted. The title assumed in all public acts, is that of Excellency: this is also given by his former companions in arms; while he is styled, Sultan of the Moors, and Majesty, by strangers.

The Dey's expressed prerogative extends to the right of declaring war and making peace; assembling the divan whenever he thinks proper; imposing taxes and tribute; regulating all public affairs, except those of religion, and appointing his own officers: he is also the supreme judge in all causes, whether civil or criminal, without being obliged to give an account to any one of his decrees. To resist which, is like that of opposing fate itself. Believing his power to be derived from Heaven, it follows that such a favour must have been accompanied with a large stock of wisdom; and this is frequently employed to crush those who were not long before his dearest friends or most intimate companions.*

The principal occupation of a Dey consists in his being seated at the extremity of a large hall for several hours daily, for the purpose of administering justice to the multitude. His throne, or chair of state, is composed of bricks and marble, first covered with carpets, and then a lion's skin over all. To this place the chief magistrate repairs, immediately after the *chabà*, or first morning prayer, and remains there till the dinner hour at eleven o'clock; and returning about noon, continues at his post till sun-set. Audience is given every day in the week, except Thursday, which is devoted to his domestic concerns; and Friday, the Sabbath, is chiefly passed in devotional exercises at the great mosque. While in the judgment seat, the meanest individual has free access to his highness: in deciding

* A man of rank being elevated to the chief magistracy, one of his old friends, who came to offer his congratulations, thus addressed him; "You were once my equal and even inferior: at present all praise you, and henceforth none will dare to tell you the truth; I shall, therefore, do so for the last time: you are ambitious, vain, obstinate, full of grovelling passions, and only fond of being surrounded by buffoons and flatterers. But you have become a great personage; I shall never have another opportunity of telling you this truth, and now throw myself at your feet."

causes, the Hogas, or secretaries, attend on each side to note the proceedings, and write down his decrees; while officers, called Bachiaux, are close to his elbow to receive orders, and see the sentences promptly put into execution: all the members of administration are constantly on the spot, and near each other, so as to ensure an easy and quick communication for the dispatch of business. While issuing his decrees in the hall of justice, the Dey's principal ministers are assembled in an opposite room; the inferior officers are ranged along, on banks at the door of the palace, so that an applicant who arrives, has no difficulty whatever in immediately finding the person he wants. And upon the whole, I was particularly struck with the method, celerity, and I will add, extreme zeal with which the most trifling concerns of the regency were conducted at the Pascialick.

The office of Dey is far from being a bed of roses. A private individual having been elevated to the first dignity in the state, was congratulated by a friend on his recent exaltation: "Rather pity me," said he: "I only felt my own wants before; but I now feel those of all my subjects!"

Nor has a Barbary chief much time to languish in idleness or inactivity. Amongst the singular customs of Abyssinia, it is related that the doors and windows of the king's palace are always crowded by people who keep up a continued howling and lamentation; crying out at intervals, for permission to be admitted to the presence of the Ras or prince, to obtain justice for the injuries they have received. If there happens not to be a sufficient number of real sufferers, fictitious ones are hired to cry and lament in their stead. All this is for the honour of his majesty, and to prevent the possibility of his being abandoned to indolence or devoured by lassitude. Bruce relates, that often, while shut up in his dwelling during the rainy season, several poor wretches were in the habit of regularly coming to groan and supplicate at his door; and on enquiring the cause, he was informed, they merely came to pay him a compliment, and prevent his falling into idleness or melancholy; and hoped he would let

them have something to drink that they might renew their lamentation with redoubled vigour! It is much the same at the Dey of Algiers' palace, where a continued round of applications for redress, give rise to a degree of vigilance and activity, which is, above all other considerations, calculated to increase the popularity of government, rendering the chief, as it were, necessary to his subjects; who, seeing themselves and their concerns, objects of incessant employment to the prince, feel perfectly convinced that he must be governing with justice. On his part, the Dey is fully aware that he is conducting the vessel of state in the midst of rocks and tempests; the perils of which can only be avoided, by holding the helm with a firm and steady hand. This is one of the great causes of public tranquillity, as well as that apparent security in which an Algerine despot continues to administer public affairs, while a volcano is ever ready to burst forth at his feet.

A sovereign, having once complained to an oriental sage of the weary vigils with which his nights were lengthened, received the following advice:—"If you slumber less on your throne, O king! you will sleep better in your bed."

Notwithstanding the Dey's unlimited authority and excessive power, he is surrounded with innumerable dangers: the failure of an expedition, a long peace, which is sure to annoy his rapacious followers; a doubt, on their part, that the most scrupulous impartiality has not been observed in the distribution of plunder; the smallest delay in paying the troops, is quite sufficient to inflame the turbulent Janizaries, and create a tumult which has often been known to terminate the life and power of a Barbary chief, in the course of a few hours. On these occasions, it is in vain to supplicate a moment's grace, or attempt to soften the callous hearts of his executioners with promises of future moderation: his fate being once decided on, there is no appeal. "He was the Dey: he has reigned; but he can reign no longer, and must die." The throne in this country is truly *une belle place mais qui n'a pas de sortie.* It is much more easy to

ascend dangerous heights, than come down again when once arrived at their summit.

It is not many years since the caprice of fortune caused the elevation of a schoolmaster to the office of Dey: more happy in swaying the rod than the sceptre, he had no ambition beyond the precincts of his school, nor ever dreamed of ascending the throne of majesty. But being elected, there was no alternative; and having had the misfortune to displease the soldiery by his mildness and love of peace, he received the fatal message to quit the palace, and instantly obeying with a pallid and trembling look, solicited leave to return to his pupils, and pass the rest of his days in tranquil retirement. "That cannot be: it is not the custom," replied one of the conspirators: "you were the Dey; have been deposed; and cannot be suffered to live."

One of the late chiefs, who was summoned to leave the palace, attempted to save himself by escaping over the terraces; but a Janizary picked him off with his carbine, and he fell dead into the street. It often happens, that an entire reign does not exceed a few hours. On the high road, outside one of the city gates, there are seven stones to be seen ranged along. These are the ignoble graves of as many chiefs, elected and assassinated on the same day.*

It is so extremely rare for a Dey to die in his bed, that whenever such a phenomenon occurs, as in the case of Hassan Bassa, he is venerated and numbered amongst the saints. Referring to the principles of action which influence these chiefs, it is almost superfluous

* The Caliph Abdalmelick, who conquered Abdallah, Lord of Mecca, and dethroned Masaab, his brother, being in the castle of Confa, when the latter's head was brought in; an Arab, near his person, smiled in such a significant manner, as to make it appear there was a profound thought connected with it. The Caliph asked, what he was thinking about; to this the Arab replied, that he was reflecting on this being the fourth head he had seen brought into the castle: having recapitulated the names of those who had lost them, without any farther comment, the lesson was not lost on the Caliph, who, in order to prevent the melancholy presentiments to which it gave rise, immediately quitted the castle, and even caused it to be demolished.

to add, that neither the interests or will of the people is ever considered by them for a moment. Men, in the Barbary states, can only be compared to beasts of burthen, who are attached to the despot's car. Hence we may easily trace the cause of that indifference, which any one feels towards the fate of a sovereign, who commands from motives of selfishness and personal aggrandizement. In all those convulsions, which agitate the government of Barbary, the Moors look on as passive spectators; while it would be ridiculous for a Dey, whose life is menaced by the faction of the hour, to recur to the affections, or call for the assistance of his subjects.

Il popol dunque a mio favor? Che speri
Che in cuor di serva plebe odio ed amore
Possa eternarsi mai? Dai lunghi ceppi
Guasta, avvilita, or l'un tiranno vede
Cadere, or sorger l'altro; e nullo l'ama,
E a tutti serve; ed un Atride oblia,
E d'un Egisto trema————.*

A Dey's life would be comparatively secure, if he had only to apprehend the discontent or revolt of the people: the swords mostly to be feared, are those which immediately surround the thrones of despotism: yet such is the irresistible influence of ambition in the human heart; there is so much gratification in the idea of superiority, that it would seem, people breathe a purer air in these higher regions of worldly dignity, where man so frequently thinks the lightning and tempest cannot overtake him. Power is even said, to enable its

* Dost hope that in the heart
Of the base people, hatred or regard
Can ever be perpetuated? Spoil'd,
Degraded; now it sees one tyrant fall
And now another rise: not one it loves,
And yields to all; forgets an Agamemnon,
At an Ægisthus trembles.
LLOYD'S ALFIERI, ORESTES, ACT II. SCENE I.

possessor to appreciate those objects it looks down upon, more justly than other people; while every word and action acquires weight and importance, in proportion as the author is elevated above his fellow men. Such, in fact, is the effect of power, that the being whom fortune raises to grandeur and dignities, is no longer able to see the dangers by which he is environed. If you asked a Turkish soldier, whether he would consent to be elected for three days, though sure of decapitation the fourth; your offer would be gladly accepted: besides, they encourage an idea, that all the deys become saints after death.

Philosophers, who are simple, and of little experience in such matters, entertain very different notions of power and ambition; but he whose lip has touched the enchanted cup, who has been inebriated by the fumes of that fascinating incense, can never afterwards taste another joy. A Polish chief once recommended his sovereign to shew a generous example of magnanimity, by descending from his throne, and becoming a citizen. "Such is your idea," replied his master; "because you are a private individual. But I, who am a king, ought to think very differently: the throne is not the same kind of thing, when viewed from below, as it is seen by those who have it in possession."

The Dey who reigned when I went to Algiers, or more properly speaking, was carried there, called himself Ali Bassà; to which was added the title of Haggi, assumed by all those who have visited the holy city of Arabia. Ali had made the pilgrimage no less than three times; and was consequently regarded as a saint: he was, nevertheless, a most fanatical Musselman; the bitterest enemy of Christians: he never omitted the most trifling, or superstitious practices of his own sect, nor lost any opportunity of gratifying an act of vengeance, in which he always seemed to take particular delight. In addition to the most scrupulous attentions to his daily ablutions and prayers, it appeared to be an article of faith with Ali, to bathe himself occasionally in human blood: hence, the frequent assassinations

that marked his reign, and gave rise to an opinion, amongst his devoted subjects, that he was by far the most sanguinary tyrant who had ever governed in Algiers.

Haggi Ali Bassà was about fifty-five years of age, with stout limbs, and tolerably well shaped; but his physiognomy plainly indicated a mind corroded by the worst passions: in him, you beheld a man wrapped up in his own black and gloomy thoughts; and as Tacitus observed of a Roman emperor, "*vi dominationis convulsus et commutatus.*" The most terrific stories were related of this man's cruelties: he once condemned a lad of fourteen years old to death, for having merely left a small stone in some rice intended for soup. One day, while seated in the hall of justice, a chiaux or messenger came up, and whispered something in his ear: the Dey made a sign with his hand, and in a few minutes, five bleeding heads were brought in by as many executioners! They belonged to some rich Moors, who were suspected of holding seditious conversation in a neighbouring coffee-house.

In 1814, he had ruled seven years; an exceedingly long reign for an Algerine dey; and which he entirely owed to his unceasing vigilance, and prompt execution of that vindictive spirit, which left no respite to his enemies when once discovered, or even suspected. Several conspiracies had only the effect of consolidating his power; but a long peace with Spain and Portugal, having displeased the unquiet spirits of the divan, they succeeded in exciting a general feeling of discontent amongst the soldiery; and this was soon followed by a powerful faction, which openly expressed its dissatisfaction and hostility to the tyrant. The capture of our vessel, afforded Haggi Bassà an opportunity of dispensing some valuable donations amongst the soldiers and members of the divan; which may have given temporary support to his throne of blood. But the already vacillating state of Ali's health, was rendered still more dangerous, by the internal workings of his own distempered mind; which seemed to threaten a speedy dissolution.

M. de Langle, who published an account of his travels through Spain, observes in noticing his Catholic Majesty, the excellent Charles III. "The king is adored, and it must be on this account that he enjoys such good health: nothing is so salutary to a sovereign as that of being popular amongst his subjects."

Although menaced with approaching death, by the state of his health, Providence seems to have decided that Ali should not perish in the ordinary course of nature: he was poisoned by his black cook, who having probably remembered the boy's fate, gave his highness a pill that was not quite so easy of digestion as the pebble which gave rise to the former's cruel condemnation. A young page having once had the misfortune to spill a little water on the robes of a caliph of Bagdad, so enraged his master, that he was instantly condemned to lose his head; upon which, he took up a dish full of gravy, and emptied its contents all over the tyrant. "Wretch! how dare you offer such an indignity, and thus insult my august person?" exclaimed the furious caliph. "Great commander of the believers," replied the page; "what would posterity say, when informed that you had condemned me to an ignominious death, for having unfortunately suffered a drop of water to fall on your garment? At present, that I am guilty of a great crime, in pouring the contents of a dish over the sacred head of your excellency, it will be said, that so great a prince did not abandon himself to the last extremity of violence, for a trifling cause; and if rigour was used, it was justified by the occasion." Ali's cook seemed to be actuated by a similar motive; and determined, that if his master had time to revenge the attempt, it should not be for a trifle. But, as it happened, that was not the case; and on the joyful event's being announced, an old officer of the Janizaries was elected for the time being; and though he succeeded Ali, he did not replace him; being merely set up until a candidate more worthy of the throne could be found. This was soon furnished in the person of Omar Aga; whose transient predecessor had his head taken off, according to custom.

As to Haggi Ali Bassà, as may be supposed, his death was not very deeply lamented: conformably to an old proverb, he that would reap tears, must sow love.

The chief cause of Omar Aga's elevation, arose from his late brilliant success in an expedition to the mountains of Couco, directed against the inhabitants of that warlike district. Omar was then about forty-five, and one of the handsomest men in the regency; possessing extraordinary talents, intrepidity and resolution. While in command of the troops, and employed on service, he was foremost in every enterprize: his pleasing manners, constant presence, and easy vivacity, had made him the idol of his inferiors, and soul of the divan; all which seemed to point him out as Ali's successor. It is not, therefore, surprising, that the latter should have long regarded Omar Aga with an eye of jealousy; and he was once even induced to send the bachiaux, or principal executioner to destroy him; but the resolute chief was not disposed to yield; and retiring into one of the cassarias, dared his adversary to advance. Upon this, the minister of vengeance desisted; and, like the Cimbrian soldier, who was terrified by the petrifying aspect of Marius, felt himself incapable of following up the orders of his master. Having surmounted this difficulty, Omar proved that he was equal to the most trying emergencies; while reverses and misfortunes only seemed to increase the fiery ardour of his character. He reigns, and the firmness with which he does so, would justify his answering in the language of a sovereign, who being interrogated, how he could possibly remain on his throne, while governing a ferocious and inconstant multitude? replied, "because the crown is more closely attached to my head, than the latter is to my shoulders."*

The council of state is composed of all the ministers; and these are nominated by the Dey, not as the organs of the people, but the obsequious slaves of his highness. Caprice, accident, favouritism, or

* An account of Omar's fate will be given in another part of this volume.—*Ed.*

the spirit of party, alone has any share in determining their selection: so that in Barbary, a man is frequently raised from the lowest condition to the highest pinnacle of fortune, while another falls into an abyss of misery from dignity and titles. It has sometimes happened, that the Dey's principal secretary was formerly his groom; and that he who sweeps the streets once governed the city! These sports of fortune are generally found to be as mean and servile in adversity, as they were proud and insolent in prosperity; the degraded multitude, not less influenced by equally dishonourable motives, are also ever ready to trample on the humbled superior, who was formerly oppressed with their fawning adulation.

When precipitated from power, a Dey is sure to drag all his officers after him; and while reigning, his avarice frequently leads to the spoliation of those whom his own patronage and protection may have previously enriched: thus, by a natural inconstancy, destroying his own work. At another time, he will sacrifice his chief favourite to the fury of the soldiers, as we throw pieces of meat to satisfy the roaring lion, or famished jackall. Perhaps it belongs to the policy of Algiers, to make an occasional vacancy in some public office, if only to excite the hopes and ardour of unemployed candidates; such artifices not being disdained even in more polished countries.

Sir Robert Walpole, being anxious to pass a bill in the upper house, on which it was particularly necessary to obtain the approbation of the spiritual peers, requested his friend, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to remain shut up at home for a few days; and immediately after, caused it to be reported, that his grace was suddenly attacked by a complaint which baffled the skill of his medical advisers, and left no chance of his recovery. No sooner had the news gone abroad, than all the other right reverend lords immediately paid their court to the minister, by which means he found no difficulty in passing his bill; which event was speedily followed by the archbishop's re-appearance in rude health!

There are people who will, perhaps, say, that there is no harm

in a ministry feeling some little degree of uneasiness on their seats; and that it would rather do good, were those of Algiers occasionally placed on such a chair, as Cambyses put the son of a magistrate who had been convicted of injustice and venality: others may also assert, that being watched with vigilance, and surrounded by precipices, the members of an administration neither relax in zeal, nor sleep upon their posts, regarding the state as their patrimony, and their places not as a public charge, but a situation of enjoyment and repose. But it is not for neglect of public duty, or oppressing the people that ministers are punished in Algiers: when they suffer, it arises more frequently from the disinclination or impossibility of their satisfying their master's avidity for gold, or falling the victims of a treacherous intrigue. It is not the sword of justice that is raised against them on such occasions, but the dagger of revenge. Thus the ministers of Barbary, always uncertain of their fate, are filled with trembling and suspicion: never obtaining recompence or praise for their good conduct, they are isolated, as it were, and cannot feel attached to a government made up of ingratitude and caprice. It is, therefore, very natural for them to be chiefly intent on enriching themselves for the purpose of flying on the first favourable occasion, as the only resource against the inconstancy of fortune.

It appears a singular phenomenon in political science, when we reflect on the kind of people who are called to administer the affairs of government in Barbary; where mere chance, and that alone, without the smallest regard to talents, is generally the origin of a minister's elevation to power and place. What would be the consequence in Europe, says a traveller, if all offices of importance and trust, were exclusively bestowed on the most uneducated and obscure part of the community?—In Africa, where such is the case, and all are ignorant alike, the result is not productive of quite so much inconvenience.

In this country, the acme of ministerial talent consists of the lowest cunning and artifice; which valuable qualities are usually

employed in penetrating the designs and intentions of other people; and in this the Turks and Moors are said to possess a profound ability. But who knows, after all, whether this grand art of government, about which so much has been said and written, is so difficult as many would make us believe? And whether things would not go on tolerably well without quite so many cooks? It may be the driver, who impels the horses, that carry him along? I have, however, seen some coachmen drunk, and sleeping on their boxes; yet the horses seemed to proceed, *à merveille*, never missing their road. I have witnessed others, impatient and irritated, often whipping the poor animals confided to their charge, to death; and on enquiry into the cause of the dispute, frequently found the horses were in the right.

The Chancellor Oxenstiern's son, being appointed ambassador to the Swedish Congress, waited in constant expectation that his father would give him ample instructions how to act at that solemn assembly, where the destinies of Germany were about to be decided. But his father was perfectly silent on the subject: at length the day of departure having arrived, the ambassador waited on the chancellor, to request he would give him some clue by which he could be guided in the difficult mission he was about to undertake. "Go," said his father, "and don't give yourself any farther uneasiness."—*Videbis quam parva cum sapientia regatur mundus.* Oxenstiern possessed too much talents himself, not to know their influence on people and governments; and no doubt took great care, that in this instance, his selection fell upon a person so fully equal to the object in view, that no instructions were necessary; for, when on the spot, the acute statesman acts according to circumstances as they arise.—*Mitte sapientem, et nihil dicas.*

The executive members of the Algerine government are composed of the Casnedar or Cadenaggi, grand treasurer, and keeper of the hasena, an apartment close to the divan, in which all the Dey's specie is deposited; the Michelacci, minister of foreign affairs and the marine, who, from the importance of his functions may be considered

as premier; the Grand Rais, or admiral, who commands all the naval forces; the Caia of the Dey's palace, whose place he frequently supplies; the Aga of the camp; Commander in Chief of the army; the Coggia of horse, head general of cavalry; and Aga Baston, whose office is far from being the least consequential, as already mentioned. There are also four hojas, or secretaries of state; the oldest of whom superintends all the public accounts and expenditure, paying the military, &c. The second keeps a registry of imposts; the third notes all receipts into the treasury, and sums paid out of it; while the fourth is required to register the decrees, and public acts of his master with foreign powers. The last named officers are generally seated on the Dey's right hand, when in the hall of justice; and are thus in readiness to note the orders and decrees which may be given. The hojas seldom speak in the divan, but their advice is given very freely in private, and generally has great influence with his highness. Whenever a European consul goes to complain or enforce any claims at the Pascialick, the fourth hojas reads the article in question, which must be literally followed. If the claim is properly invalidated satisfaction is given: on the contrary, should the affair rest on doubtful conjecture, or insufficient proof, it is rejected, and the subject is not renewed any more. In addition to the foregoing, there are eighty inferior hojas, each of whom has a particular charge. Some collect the tax on houses, others serve out the soldiers' bread, preside at the custom-house to receive duties, superintend military depots; two are stationed at the marine gate of the city, some are always near the Dey's person, while others constantly attend the ministers, and accompany the naval and military expeditions.

Beside the above, there are also some other important officers of state, such as the Grand Doletro, or lord chief justice, whose seal is affixed to all treaties. The Mezovard, a species of lord mayor, who looks after the internal peace of the capital, going round the city every night: his report is regularly made to the Dey. He is chief inspector of prostitutes, from each of whom he exacts a tax;

and also superintends the butchers, who must all be Moors. The Checkebeld is charged with the repairs of the city and public works: it is also at this officer's house that the Moorish women are punished; and he is responsible for the care and custody of those captives whose rank or rather fortune may be sufficient to exempt them from working. Another officer, called the Pitremelgi, claims and takes possession of whatever belongs to the public or Dey, either by death or other cause: he must on this account be informed of all deaths; and in order that they cannot be concealed from his knowledge, his permit is necessary, before any corpse can be taken to the burying ground, there being a subaltern stationed at each gate to receive these written permissions. The Dragoman, or interpreter of the palace, is generally a Turk, and obliged to be well versed in the Arabic; after explaining the contents of all letters to the Dey, he is to deliver his highness a Turkish translation of them. He also seals all dispatches, and other documents before his master, who never signs any papers himself, but has a seal with his name engraven on it, applied by the Dragoman.

The Rais, or captain of the port, is obliged to visit all vessels previous to their sailing, to see that no slave is concealed on board: he decides any disputes that may arise amongst the ships in the mole, and reconnoitres along the coast every evening before sun-set. These ministers are not regularly paid; but as they do not serve for honour, it is natural enough for them to adopt other modes of levying contributions on the public: it is this which makes all the Dey's officers the very emblems of venality and extortion. Independent of gratuitous presents, and these are never refused, there are regular charges made in all transactions with public offices, called *Usanza*, equivalent to old established custom; and, as amongst the beggars, a *douceur* once given by any stranger, is sure to be levied on all those who come after him. Unlike the more conscientious ministers of other countries, there is not the least fear of prosecution against those who present a statesman of Barbary with a compliment either in money or jewels. He neither hesitates to receive the prof-

fered favour, or is apprehensive of being thought indiscreet for his condescension. Like a lady who once praised a ring which she saw on a gentleman's finger. "It is at your service," said he. "I accept it," was her reply; upon which he rejoined, "Ah, madam! you are going to banish gallantry from the world!"

I knew many of these official gentlemen: some were thrust into power by conspiracy and cabal, others had crept into place by grovelling and servility. The door which leads to fortune is small, and cannot be entered without stooping; while posts of eminence may be compared to certain trees, the tops of which none can reach except eagles or reptiles.

I was frequently in the habit of meeting the Michelacci, who certainly possessed some talent; but to a violent disposition he added the most repulsive manners, and unconquerable obstinacy. The Cadenaggi did not enjoy either much favour or authority at court; this preying on a proud spirit, rendered him morose and melancholy: he constantly complained of illness, but did not know his disorder, it was that of suppressed ambition. The Grand Doletro had been formerly chief purveyor to the army, and from this, some idea may be formed of his legal knowledge; nor would an epigram which was applied to the counsellor of a prefect, during the domination of the French in Italy, be altogether inapplicable to this luminary of the law.

Consigliere è fatto Tizio:
Deve dare il suo guidizio;
Nessun dà quel che non ha.*

The person appointed to be military governor of the city during my stay there, had never served a single campaign, or even joined the armies on active service. The Prince de Ligne having heard that such a one had been made a general, observed, "Rather say he was nominated!" Omar, who afterwards became Dey, was, in point of

* This is from the author's collection, which is very extensive, and justly celebrated all over Italy, for brilliancy of wit, and acuteness of judgment.—*Ed.*

judgment and penetration, an exception to them all, if I except an old hojas, who had for some time officiated as first secretary to Ali Bassà. It often occurred to me, that this man was a renegado, but he would never confess it.

During the seven years Ali reigned, the ministers were changed three or four times. The Pascialick in those days, resembled an European court, in which the intrigues of courtiers and favourites gave rise to so many changes of ministry, that an old duchess, who frequently paid her devoirs, used to stop the carriage at some distance from the door, and send her *laquais* forwards to enquire, if Mr. *** was still in office? The old admiral had survived two Deys, and floated over no less than four revolutions. This success in the art of keeping his place, was derived from the profound cunning and inexhaustible flexibility of his character. A slave to circumstances, the pliant tool of each ruler, and weather-cock of every blast, the winds seemed to be his only guide. But some will ask, was it his fault if they were variable?

The celebrated Vicar of Bray, to whom so many modern politicians bear a very exact resemblance, when upbraided for the versatility of his genius in accepting curacies from parties of the most opposite sentiments, replied in a tone of the utmost exultation,—"So far from deserving these reproaches, I am ever equal to myself; nor is it possible for any one to have displayed such unshaken consistency.—I was Vicar of Bray at first, am so still, and will die Vicar of Bray!"

CHAPTER XVI.

The Divan.—Its Character as a representative Body.—By whom composed.—Mode of assembling.—Discussion, and Collection of the Votes.—Revenues.—The Beys.—Their Rapacity.—Dey's Policy with regard to them.—The Caids, and their numerous Oppressions.—Account of the Chiaux, or Dey's Messengers.—Their Influence on the Multitude.—Reflections on Laws and Government.--Algerine Code.--The Cadi.--Their Appointment and Functions. Civil Process in Barbary.—Ignorance of the Judges, and novel Mode of deciding Causes.—Remarks and Anecdotes.—Criminal Process.—Punishment inflicted for various Crimes.—Consequences of Adultery and Infidelity in the Females.—Punishment of Treason.—Debtors.—How treated.—Anecdote of Ibrahim Dey.—Effect of the Dey's Personal Administration of Justice.—Anecdote of Cheban Dey.—Defects of the Algerine Law.—Excessive Severity of some Punishments.—Police Regulations of ALGIERS.*—Nightly Patroles.—Espionage and Informers.—Subterfuges of arbitrary Power.*

WHEN I name the Divan of Algiers, let not the reader imagine any thing like the Chamber of Deputies in France, and still less a British Parliament. The people of Barbary have no idea whatever of national representation, or that balance of political power, and mixed government, so tempered, that it is capable of uniting liberty with order; and in which the best guarantee of popular rights is found in the royal prerogative; where, by a rational respect for the power and dignity of the crown, the surest barriers are opposed to tyranny and oppression; where the people are associated with the government, to watch over their own immediate interests, and promote the common safety; where, in fine, the tempestuous passions being

repressed, a wide field is open to genius, love of country, the desire of useful activity, fervid movements of the heart, and generous impulses of glory.

The dowané, or as we say, divan, is composed of the principal ministers and officers of the Janizaries, and Moorish militia; who are not elected, but belong naturally to this assembly, as the warlike supporters of the Dey's power. So far, therefore, from representing the people, they can only be viewed in the light of an insolent and overbearing aristocracy. Notwithstanding its entire subserviency to the ruling power, the divan possesses some lands and revenues; but it does not, as formerly, inherit the property of those who die intestate or without issue. The comparatively few sums paid into its treasury, at present, are devoted to repairing the walls of the city, and in occasionally paying for public dinners; which, as in some countries of Europe, is frequently the sole cause of bringing the divan together. Each member of this body is distinguished by having a slip of gold-lace in front of his turban.

The most numerous part of the above assembly, consists of the old agas, yiack bashas, three hundred boulouchis, two hundred oldaks; the whole generally amounting to seven hundred persons. In affairs of great importance, the mezoul agas, or retired officers, and sometimes even the whole of the Turkish soldiery are included. The oldest aga acts as president, taking the first seat; close to him is the secretary, who notes down the resolutions; the third range is composed of twenty-four aga bashas, or principal officers of the militia; who seat themselves according to rank and length of service; then come the boulouc bashas and oldaks. A meeting is held at the Alcasar every Saturday, besides any other time required by the Dey: when the attendance of the soldiers is called for, they must go unarmed, and while in the hall, remain with their arms folded. All questions are discussed in the Turkish language; and when put to the vote, the principal aga gives his opinion first, or makes his proposition, which is communicated to the aga bashas; four officers, called bashoul dala,

repeat it one after another in a loud tone, which usually creates great confusion for the time; but here it is only *vox, vox, præterœque nihil!* because it very seldom happens, that any thing is decided on, during these tumultuous meetings. And it may be said of the divan, as of the council of an old sovereign, when a person having asked, "what has passed at the grand council this morning?" Another answered, "what has passed? Why, three hours!" In former times, all affairs of consequence were argued and examined in this assembly, and not only the laws, but every decree of the Dey was to have its approval, previous to being put into force. But now, the Dey assembles and dissolves it according to his good pleasure and convenience; entering the hall as Buonaparte used to go in amongst the pliant legislators of St. Cloud, or as Oliver Cromwell dissolved the long parliament. The Grand Caia, who usually represents the Dey, opens the debate, by shortly stating the object of the meeting, and then concludes, by making his proposal, that is to say, what must be acceded to: his silence is followed by casting a ferocious look round the assembly, which plainly indicates the result of nonconformity to his wishes. This is one way of collecting the free and unbiassed votes of an independent assembly; and reminds me of the amateur of paintings; who, after having told one of the cognoscenti, that he would throw any one out of the window that said such a picture was not an original, finished by observing, "now, my friend, I request that you, who are so good a judge, and sincere in giving your opinion, will come, and tell me candidly, what you think of it?"

The governor of each province is entitled Bey, and is also sometimes entrusted with the command of the army, if hostilities are going on within his own territory, or on its frontiers towards the enemy. These officers are almost invested with sovereign authority: in nominating them, their commission merely consists in the Dey's telling them before his ministers, "go, and govern such a country, and be my general."

There are three Beys appointed by the Dey of Algiers: one resides at Oran, in the western province; another lives in the eastern, of

which Constantina is the capital; while the third is generally encamped with a large military force, which is almost continually employed in keeping down those tribes who may be anxious to throw off the despotic yoke under which they groan. All the Beys are more or less occupied in making irruptions amongst these unhappy and persecuted people: after having exercised the greatest rapacity, and obtained an increase of territory, the tribes are for a time very well treated, and even caressed, by their inexorable oppressors. The Beys are recalled to the seat of government every two or three years to give an account of their proceedings to the Dey. They of course do not omit coming into the capital, well loaded with booty, the produce of their previous exactions and plunder. Although on arriving at Algiers, they are no more than private individuals, yet, from the splendor and extent of their retinue, they are always honoured with the acclamations of the populace, in proportion to the greatness of their train and quantity of treasure brought in.

In these extensive governments, the chiefs take good care to provide for themselves: hence the immense riches which they are said to possess; and while at their posts there is no device of cruelty or art to which they will not have recourse to obtain money from the peaceful inhabitants. A newly appointed Bey having asked his predecessor what his government yielded, the latter replied, "It has usually brought ten thousand piastres: when not afraid of trifles, you might make twenty thousand of it, and I have got as many as thirty thousand!"

The Dey suffers them to do as they like with the most perfect indifference: he even appears to be gratified at their wading through the blood of his people, that he may afterwards have the pleasure of squeezing the spunge, as it is called. When once ascertained that the Beys are sufficiently rich, their avaricious master soon contrives to induce their return to Algiers; where if not very liberal in ministering to his thirst for gold, there is no difficulty in making a pretext to arrest them, which event is usually followed by strangling. It is true, that

many of the Beys who may be apprehensive of the consequences, often contrive to keep away from the capital, for a long time after being recalled. The Caifte, or next in command, is frequently sent on with the tribute, and large presents, while in some cases recourse has been had to flight: on these occasions the Mountains of Couco afford a safe and luxurious retreat to the voluntary exile. If there are a few solitary instances on record, of punishment having been inflicted on a plundering governor or venal minister of Barbary, the public good was not so much consulted, as the advantage his highness's revenue might derive from it. Should an officer be complained of, he is displaced, and his fortune is immediately seized by the Dey. If the next who succeeds him be also denounced, and the populace are once more gratified by the fall of an oppressive governor, the chances are greatly in favour of a still more corrupt character filling his place; and while the latter is busily employed in fattening on the spoils of the abused multitude, the Beys are equally active on their side, while his highness is only intent on finding a pretext, no matter how trifling, to spoliate both parties: thus furnishing rather a striking illustration of a well known fable.

The Caids, or governors of cities, generally buy their places, with the laudable design of ultimately getting the purchase money and something more, back from the pockets of the devoted inhabitants; who have justly been compared to those travellers that in crossing the desert, are either devoured by beasts of prey, or have their blood extracted by innumerable insects.

Whatever oppression may have been omitted by the Beys, is most amply inflicted by the Caids; but the worst effects connected with society in Barbary, are those which arise from its total want of individual attachment or general unanimity, the usual result of despotism in all countries. Here each member of the community, who may possess either wealth or power, lords it over his inferior; and if guilty of the greatest acts of violence, he easily finds protection and indemnity from a higher authority. Such a crying system of injus-

tice, could only exist under the most perverse despotism; for although the prince's attention may be chiefly directed against the great and powerful, his tyranny is regularly propagated through every department of the state, until it reaches the common executioner. Every one makes a rule of revenging the injuries he has received from his superiors on those below him; and the more he is necessitated to stoop before the former, the greater his punctilio with the latter, exerting a degree of severity exactly proportioned to his own standard of servility and meanness towards those above him. It is not the uncontrouled despot of absolute power, that is most oppressive to his people: those who chiefly torment and agitate them, are the inferior tyrants, who, vain of that authority, which they are in constant fear of losing, ought to be considered as the real scourges of civil society. It is almost needless to add, that wherever such a system of government is tolerated, the effect of petty tyrants is quite as injurious to the monarch, as his people. Proceeding from its pure source, through a hundred obscure channels, and thence descending into various ignoble hands, authority is ever sure to lose in force and dignity: the sun's rays are of gold; reflected by the moon they become silver.

Amongst the officers immediately about the Dey's person, are twelve messengers of state, called Chiaux: these are the infallible executioners of his will and pleasure, being always in attendance, either to convey a dispatch, or chop off a head. These satellites are under the direction of two others, styled Bachiaux; who constantly wait on each side his highness while administering justice; some are Turks, and others natives: the former being employed in arresting or punishing their own countrymen; while the latter executes all orders and decrees in which Moors are concerned. The Turkish Chiaux would, in fact, consider it as a degradation, were he sent to arrest a Moor or a Jew. They always receive the Dey's orders verbally, and never in writing. Their dress is green, with a crimson band round the middle, and pointed turban. The strongest and best looking men are generally selected for this office; and they are prohibited from

carrying arms of any description, not even a knife; so that when abroad, the Chiaux is not distinguished by the smallest military attribute, and looks more like a peaceful citizen than the minister of vengeance.

Notwithstanding all this, nothing can exceed the dread and horror in which they are held by the multitude: this arises from the inflexible resolution displayed by them in executing the orders of the Dey: this is, of itself, enough to make a host of Moors instantly obey the most terrible command they can give. At the very first intimation of a Chiaux, the most resolute Moor will surrender, or lay his head down to be taken off, whether innocent or not, though surrounded by numerous friends. When the tyrant orders the arrest, or death of any one who may have excited his anger, or violated the laws, the executioner departs, searches in every direction for the proscribed individual, and does not return without either the body in chains, or the bleeding head. Should an unforeseen event have passed between the messenger and his victim, notice is given, that every subject of his highness is to assist in his discovery, or to reveal the place of his retreat: the person aiding or assisting in his evasion, makes himself liable to the punishment of instant death if found out. The myrmidons who attended the three famous inquisitors of Venice, will serve to give some idea of the terrible executioners employed to put the inevitable decrees of the Algerine despot into effect.

To rule with a strong hand, without the outward shew of military force, or legal power, is no trifling acquirement in the art of governing. The sagacity of a legislator chiefly consists in a happy distribution of his means, and the simple facility of putting them into prompt execution. But this singular power of the piratical government, without any appearance of an armed force; and the extreme rapidity with which sentences are executed without opposition; is far from being the result of a well regulated republic, equitable laws, or acknowledged justice of the prince; as proved in England, by the

respect which is shewn to the mere intimation of a constable. In Barbary, it is rather the effect of a cruel tyranny, and that amazing terror with which a government, made up of artifice and revenge, inspires a degraded people. Although deserving our pity, when the causes whence it springs are considered, the Moors are dissimulating as they are servile; and while under the tyrant's lash, will smile and thank his excellency, for having deigned to think of them! '"I," said a rich Moor, "cannot reflect without an internal sentiment of glory and satisfaction, that my head is suffered to remain on my shoulders, through the bounteous clemency of my invincible sultan!" However, the more acute observer does not think the people of Africa contented or happy, because neither opposition or revolt is manifested: they do not even murmur or complain. But how are they to move, while loaded with fetters, or speak with their mouths closed?

That people who are allowed to complain, are not always the most unhappy. It is much worse to be obliged to remain silent in suffering, or as occasionally happens, be forced to praise the authors of our oppression. Pliny observes, subjects never complain so little of any sovereign, as of him, with whom they have most reason to be dissatisfied. And Carnot, with equal justice, that in despotic countries, people suffer most and complain the least; whereas, in free states, the maxim is directly reversed. By a strange fatality in our nature, those who have the greatest reason to be satisfied with fortune, are the first to murmur against the most trifling disaster:—as a rose-leaf, not gracefully unfolded, was sufficient to disturb the effeminate Sybarite's repose. When a nation murmurs, and freely declares its sentiments, it proves that neither misfortunes nor tyranny have exhausted its courage or destroyed its virtue; and that the soil and constitution are still worthy of its best affections.

This boldness and liberty of speech, whether employed to express approbation or disgust of public measures, is not only a great source of consolation but of happiness. A feudal lord, being told

that his excessive moderation rendered his vassals turbulent and impetuous, answered:—"I know that the voice of poverty and wretchedness is humble and timorous; but, thank Heaven! the freedom with which my people speak, proves them to be rich and happy." Let not the Dey of Algiers, therefore, fancy himself either a good shepherd or beloved prince, merely because the Moors appear calm and tranquil: he would, on the other hand, do well to reflect with a poet of celebrity, that

Il silenzio dei popoli è la lezione dei re!

There is no civil code in existence amongst the people of Barbary, its place being supplied by that of the Koran: so that all the doctrine of Algerine jurisprudence, is confined to the interpretation of that *divine* book and its sanctified commentators.

It is, no doubt, a great blessing for a people to derive their laws from a sacred source; but the mischief in Algiers and other African governments is, that the chiefs and doctors frequently interpret them in a very different sense to their original intention; and from the princes being above the law, every facility for the most arbitrary innovation is thereby created: besides, we all know, that justice in a government purely military, is generally to be found at the point of a bayonet, while the laws are written in blood. Nor would arms or soldiers be required, if their often boasted laws were so venerated and obeyed as they would make people believe.

Before a decree can pass into a law, the *teftà*, or signature of the principal mufti, must be affixed; and when a *casna* or new ordonnance comes out, the *parà*, or public cryer, proclaims it with a large speaking trumpet. This noisy method of making known the will of government, without explaining to the people, as we do in Europe, the meaning of any new edict, carries a degree of pride and despotism with it, which enforces obedience without producing conviction.

In Barbary, custom is law; and as no changes ever take place,

abuses of every kind continue to accumulate, without the smallest advance towards improvement. This consoling state of degradation, does not, however, seem to displease an indolent people; who, absorbed in stupidity and slavery, are incapable of being roused from their lethargic dream: like the companion of Ulysses, who, transformed into a frog, was contented to remain croaking in the marshes. But perhaps it would be of little use, and regarded by some as an error, were any attempts made to awaken a nation so corrupt and degenerate. Stagnant waters must not be agitated, lest their exhalations should spread pestilence and desolation around.

The Cadi is a species of lord chancellor, who has studied at the seminaries of Cairo and Constantinople; where, as in our universities, the pandects of Justinian, which have been translated in Arabic, are read. This dignitary is sent to the regencies by the Grand Seignor, with the approbation of the Mufti. His power only extends to civil causes; he cannot leave the city without permission from the Dey; he is obliged to attend in court twice a day to take cognizance of all disputes; and in case of difficulties, recurs to the Dey or Casnedar: whenever his highness is disposed to decide a case without the intervention of the Cadi, the Ulemas are first consulted.

There is one Cadi for the Turks, and another to decide between the Moors: both have a number of inferior agents under them, called *Paips*, who go on circuit in the country villages.

The Cadi is referred to in all cases concerning property. But the only means of placing the latter out of the reach of the various fiscal impositions to which it is constantly exposed, is to make a *waks* of it, that is, bequeath it to a mosque, which only requires a small annual tribute. Those, however, who act as guardians to this kind of legacy, are the only persons who profit by so singular a practice.

As the Cadi's post is generally bought, it is not very strange that he should sell justice, which from its great value, ought not to be

given away for nothing. His decisions are alike, without pity or appeal; and he is utterly insensible to the tears of the orphan or widow. An English gentleman having complained of a dreadful pain in the stomach, for which every remedy seemed ineffectual, the celebrated Lord Erskine told him, that he ought to be made attorney-general, as he would then have no bowels at all!—I wonder of what kind should those of an Algerine attorney-general be?

As the judges of Barbary are, without any exceptions, men of the grossest ignorance, justice in this country ought to be represented, as it was in Egypt, without a head. Amongst a venal people, deprived of public opinion or moral sentiment, where there is, in fact, no appeal, chance must decide numberless cases; while all are liable to be influenced by a bribe. That which is still more annoying, arises from the judges pronouncing sentence, *per fast et nefas*, without the smallest regard to the interests of either party; while, by the way of adding to the comfort of a litigant, he who cannot give clear and satisfactory reasons for appealing to the judgment seat, receives a good bastinadoing: nor is the successful opponent always spared, particularly if he has given much trouble to the wigs. Upon some occasions, when unable to get out of the labyrinth, created by numerous and contradictory witnesses, the cause is abruptly terminated by a liberal distribution of the bastinado to plaintiff and defendant, council and witnesses. It is indeed no less extraordinary than vexatious, that illiterate wretches should attempt to judge of the most important questions, on the slightest examinations. It is not in Barbary, as at the poet of Vaucluse's tribunal—

Piacemi aver vostre questioni udite;
Ma pui tempo bisogna a tanta lite.

The great Chancellor D'Aguesseau's son, used to tell his father, "I observe that although you know every thing, you decide on nothing!" "Yes," said the minister; "and I perceive that it is quite the reverse with you." However, there are two sides to every question;

and according to an old proverb, "the devil is never so black as he is painted: so it is with the civil procedure of Algiers, in which there are some things even worthy of admiration. The head of the government is indefatigably devoted to the personal administration of the laws; and seated in his hall of audience the greatest part of each day, hears every applicant, and if possible decides immediately. Howsoever this mode of the supreme chief's presiding might be inapplicable to European forms, it has most certainly the effect of preventing those consequences of intrigue and partiality, which would otherwise render the situation of these people absolutely intolerable: at all events, they are satisfied in appearance; and seeing the Dey officiate, is to them a sufficient proof of his protecting disposition. There is, besides, a much greater air of grandeur and ingenuousness in public decisions, while they can alone give a character of perfect impartiality to justice. The sole guide of law and interpretation being the Alcoran, this single volume, together with the necessary witnesses, saves the labour and frequent inutility of innumerable citations from obsolete books of jurisprudence; while common sense is not sacrificed in the worse than useless parade of antiquated form; and a cause cannot be obscured by a mass of unmeaning authorities. Every one is also called upon to defend himself: and all things considered, if the party is endowed with a moderate share of penetration, it is extremely difficult to find a more able advocate, where the judges are not much better informed than the generality of the people. It is also worthy of remark, that the legal processes of Barbary occasion neither delay nor expences: by which, as in some countries, the litigants merely obtain the shells, while a third party comes in for the oyster. There is a curious story told of a porter stationed at the door of the lower regions, who, on hearing a loud knock, asked who it was; and finding that the visitor happened to be a lawyer, replied in an angry tone, "it is impossible to be constantly opening the door for people of your calling, from whom we never have a moment's repose; can't you wait until there are three or four hundred, and then you can all come in together?" Dean Swift

being asked, what side would be most likely to gain a cause if there was a trial between a priest and the devil: answered, "the latter most assuredly, as he would be sure to have all the gentlemen of the gown on his side!" These are, however, mere jests; which none but the very lowest dregs of the most dignified profession would take to themselves. They are far from being directed at individuals of any country, much less those ornaments of human nature and of the bar, who devote their honest and disinterested labours to the defence of the orphan and widow, the elucidation of facts, and discovery of truth. At the same time, few will deny, that where the number of advocates is limited, and there is not a multiplicity of judges, such as of first and second instance courts of appeal and cassation,* together with the

* It is scarcely possible to read these observations of Mr. Pananti, without calling to mind the boasted excellence of the Code Napoleon; which, like every thing else that came from the "child and champion" of jacobinism, as he is very aptly called, has been panegyrised to satiety by its fulsome admirers, or rather servile flatterers. To save the trouble of quoting innumerable instances, wherein this famous code has struck at the very root of retributive justice, I need only instance the delay which has taken place in the extraordinary prosecution of Mr. Fualdes' murderers, than which a more crying instance of unnecessary protraction has probably never disgraced the legal annals of any country in the world; nor can all the sophistry and chicane of the French bar, change public opinion on the subject. The unfortunate Fualdes was most inhumanly butchered on the 19th of March, 1817: the assassins were taken into custody in April, and not brought to trial till August. When, however, the most irrefragable proofs of guilt were brought home to the accused, they were consequently condemned to suffer according to the enormity of their crime. But lo, and behold! the Court of Cassation at Paris, is appealed to.—What does this most honourable junta do, but cancel the whole trial, merely for the sake of a few puerile and technical formalities omitted in the prosecution; which, let it be well recollected, did not invalidate one particle of the main facts and allegations!!!—Yet, singular to relate, a new trial, in toto, is about to take place at Albi, a departmental town, about eighty miles from where this assassination, exceeding in atrocity all that ever has hitherto come under public examination, was perpetrated! I will do the French people the justice to add, that in this case, as in many others, they are certainly more sinned against than sinning.—For except with those who must have felt a personal interest in lengthening out the process, there has, from the onset, been but one sentiment entertained on the subject

almost innumerable dependants and followers of legal establishments in Europe, there is not only much less inducement for going to law, but infinitely fewer people precipitated into ruin by protracted litigation. To those who have, in more civilized countries, suffered the "law's delay" to its full extent, I doubt whether the Algerine system would not be almost preferable: it certainly has the merit of amazing celerity, which cannot fail to be attended with proportionate satisfaction in nine cases out of ten. Justice has sometimes been represented with heels of lead, but it should not crawl like a snail. What a dreadful source of vexation is not that of waiting the decision of some courts! How much more conducive to the interest of society, were it possible to fix a more speedy and determinate period for the termination of legal questions! Surely any arrangement on this important subject, would be far better than those delays and appeals, which have so frequently ended in reducing families to beggary?

In a Barbary suit, there is really no time given for the operation of intrigue or corruption; as the longest trial seldom exceeds above a few hours, and even this extent is rarely allowed. There is also another great source of dangerous influence banished from their jurisprudence; that of scarcely ever suffering women to appear in courts of justice: so that, like the courtezan of old, who artfully allowed her veil to fall before the Areopagus, the Moorish ladies cannot very easily bring *their* charms into the field of justice in Barbary. My friend, the Cadi Moctaleb Salamè, used to say, that to ensure perfect

throughout France. Indeed the sensation it created, and continues to create, is highly honourable to the national character. How inexpressibly dreadful it must be to the family of poor Fualdes, but more particularly his son, whose eloquent appeal to the court at Rhodez, drew tears from every one present,—to be thus exposed to the danger of his father's murderers being once more enabled to contaminate society! The trial is full of dramatic horror and fearful interest. It is well worthy the attention of those who feel anxious to simplify modern jurisprudence, and will be a lasting monument of how much the revolutionary code-makers have left to be achieved by their more constitutional successors.—*Ed.*

impartiality, all judges should be eunuchs. Although I feel, that it would be rather unpopular to propose such a measure in Europe, yet the project certainly merits some consideration: nor shall I attempt to panegyrize the African mode of belabouring the defendant, plaintiff, and council with the bastinado; but the Cadi Moctaleb Salamè told me, we should obviate a thousand disputes, which are daily arising from the cavilling spirit of litigation so prevalent amongst us, if we could, by any means, impress the parties concerned, that a sound drubbing was to precede the moment of trial: he added, that there would be a most sensible diminution of briefs, were it once settled, that when a frivolous, or unnecessary cause was attempted to be brought into court, four or five dozen bastinadoes were laid on the whole party; not forgetting clerks, constables, warders, &c.—Such, at least, was the opinion of Moctaleb Salamè.

Public justice in Barbary is endowed with two very essential qualities: it is prompt and inevitable. The guilty very rarely escapes punishment; and all are obliged to assist in the execution of the laws. Homicide is invariably punished with death. Thieves, immediately after conviction, lose the right hand, which is slung over the shoulder; they are then placed on an ass, and carried round the city, preceded by a herald, who cries, "thus are thieves punished." It frequently happens, that the culprit himself is obliged to explain the cause of his chastisement. If a Christian or Jew is discovered to be rather too intimate with a Mahometan woman, he is invariably condemned to die; but previous to conviction, it is absolutely necessary that he be taken in *flagranti delicto;* otherwise, if there is no commotion amongst the people, the officers of justice are satisfied with inflicting a good bastinadoing. The lady is paraded round the country on an ass, with her face uncovered, and turned towards the tail. This ceremony over, she is put into a sack and thrown into the sea; the agents and abettors, if there be any, undergo a punishment exactly similar to that of the real delinquents. For making false keys, or forging the hand-writing of another, an offender also loses his right

hand, which is sometimes, by way of favour, commuted for the left. The seditious, and those detected in a conspiracy, are strangled. Fraudulent bankrupts, if Europeans, suffer strangling by the hand: if Moors, they are hung; while Jews are burnt. Any person refusing to settle with a creditor, is obliged to pay double the amount of his debt: if, however, the claim is not properly invalidated, the aggrieved party is entitled to the sum he would have paid, in the event of conviction. Debtors are imprisoned, and their goods sold; the residue of what they yield, after settling all demands, being scrupulously restored to the owner; but he is not liberated till a hundred and one days after his arrest; nor does he get out of the hands of justice without a smart specimen of the bastinado. When a creditor is disposed to persecute any one who owes him money, he may prolong the imprisonment by only demanding a part of his debt at a time, and suing for another at the expiration of the hundred and one days.

Each district is made responsible for any robbery committed within its limits: this accounts for the very few thefts known in Barbary, as every one is continually on the alert to prevent them, it also renders travelling extremely safe. In the markets and shops, the prices of bread and vegetables are regularly fixed; the execution of this law forms a part of the Dey's oath when invested with the caftan. Ibrahim Dey, having once dressed himself in the attire of a servant, took a slave, and went to a shop, of which the proprietor had the credit of not being over and above conscientious in selling his goods. On asking to buy some bread and rice, Ibrahim told the shopkeeper, that they were the slaves of a rich Moor whom he named, and had just come from the country to pass a few hours at a neighbouring tavern; requesting him, at the same time, not to divulge the circumstance to their master. The trader, knowing how much it was their interest to conceal it, felt himself justified in charging double price for what they bought. From thence, the Dey returned to the palace, and having mounted his throne, the slave appeared before him as the shopkeeper's accuser; there was not much difficulty in convicting the

latter of extortion and usury; which was instantly followed by his being sent to the gallows.

If a Christian is convicted of the foregoing crime, his head is cut off by a Turk: the latter, when guilty of it, is served in a similar way by one of the Christian slaves: a Jew, as in other capital convictions, is given up to the populace, to form a species of *auto da fe*; while the Moors are suspended from the battlements of the city.

The Dey's personal attendance, and constant practice of pronouncing sentence himself, has a wonderful effect on repressing crimes, while it tends most materially to satisfy the people, and maintain public ranquillity. It is indeed an important truth, that the people are contented in all countries, if you can but succeed in convincing them, that the higher authorities are sincerely interested in their happiness. Cheban Dey, observing a seaman eating something, which he kept concealed under his bernousse, asked what it was? The man told his highness, they were plumbs, which he had purchased from a native of Marseilles: on this the Dey rejoined, "how could you buy such fine fruit? If you can afford to get plumbs, you would surely procure bread in preference, therefore you must have stolen them: if they were bought, you deserve a hundred blows of the bastinado, for having gone beyond your means, and made your family suffer, merely for the sake of gratifying your own gluttony." Soon after the merchant was sent for, and on coming before Cheban, the latter asked him, "what he had gained by his plumbs?" the Marseillois replied, "that he got very little, and had besides one of the finest baskets of them stolen." "Would you know the basket again?" said the Dey. "I should, please your highness," was the answer; and on producing that found on the sailor, he recognized it as his own. The culprit was then ordered to receive five hundred bastinadoes for the theft; and afterwards condemned to be hung, for having dared to tell a lie to his master.

But if African justice be vigilant, prompt and infallible, it is

unaccompanied by those admirable and necessary companions, mercy and compassion: neither of these divine virtues belong to the Mahometan character; and the Mufti as well as Cadi, place their chief glory in the most rigorous interpretation of the laws, upon which they are called to decide. The punishments of Barbary have often been compared to those of China, which they fully equal in severity: the bastinado is incessantly resorted to, and on the most trifling occasion; while some malefactors are thrown from the walls on sharp iron spikes, where they are suffered to remain for whole days, exhibiting a frightful and calamitous spectacle of human misery. Whoever is detected in concealing an accused person, no matter whether he is a relative or friend, the offender shares the same fate as the guilty person. The voice of pity must, in fact, be totally extinguished in this country, and every tender tie broken asunder. The Dey has only to make a sign with his hand, and heads are severed by the hundred! The prompt mode of execution has almost the instantaneous celerity of lightning. What a country must that be, wherein violence and despotism reign without control; where, amidst universal degradation, nothing is heard but the voice of despair, and clanking of chains? The great Chatham once observed, "that a government stripped of liberal institutions, and composed of uneducated men, without honour, integrity, or virtue, is one of the most horrid and disgusting spectacles which can present itself to the contemplation of a civilized being."

Great care is taken to preserve order and tranquillity in the Algerine capital, of which the police is at least fully equal to the object in view. Besides a patrole, that goes round the city at stated intervals, there are persons to watch over the shops and store-houses: these are responsible for whatever may occur, and receive a trifling compensation from the house-keepers for their trouble. During market days, bands of soldiers visit the different quarters of the city; and the Mezovard is constantly on the *qui vive* at night, going wherever there is any tumult, and superintending the

conduct of prostitutes, who are the chief sources of nightly irregularities in Algiers, as well as some other capitals. The Dey, who must be minutely informed of all that occurs, receives this officer's report every morning. A police so extremely inquisitive as the above, is, no doubt, troublesome to the people in many respects: *while it displays a degree of curiosity unworthy a more enlightened government.* The eagle will recommend its young to fix their regards on the sun, and not deign to notice the insects who crawl along in the dust: there are, however, many of the latter, but few of the former.

As connected with the police department, there is perhaps nothing so repulsive, in a government which professes to execute justice without the outward shew of military force, as the necessity it seems to be under, of recurring to the services of that degraded race; who, not sufficiently courageous to assassinate, are glad to enlist under the profitable banners of espionage; where they are enabled to "smile and betray with impunity." Of this very honourable class, there is a prodigious number in Algiers; where even the very walls have ears, and the most innocent expressions are construed into "treasons, stratagems, and broils." I do not know, whether it was not in this city, that a man being asked what o'clock it was; turned round, with looks full of fear and apprehension, and then whispered in a low tone, "it is half past ten, but don't say I told you so!"

The Dey cannot bear to be ignorant of what is going on; and would even like to read the inmost thoughts of his subjects; because he well knows, that the people hold him in detestation; while his person is surrounded by plots and machinations. On this account, there is no precaution omitted, or artifice spared, to save his person, and preserve his slippery power. "I am hated, because they fear me," says the tyrant: the virtuous and good prince replies, "they love me: what have I to fear?"

CHAPTER XVII

Financial System of ALGIERS.—*Various Modes of raising Money.*—*Hints to Modern Financiers.*—*The Hasena, or public Treasury.*—*Reflections on the Advantages of hoarding.*—*Different Sources of the Dey's Revenue.*—*His praiseworthy Forbearance.*—*Anecdote of a Persian Prince.*—*Thoughts on the Use of Public Money.*—*Military Force of* ALGIERS.—*The Oldack, and Ortes.*—*Zouavi.*—*The Aga.*—*His Functions, and Mode of being replaced.*—*Account of the* AGA *del Campo, and Caia.*—*Mode of rewarding the Services of old Officers in* ALGIERS.—*Their Privileges.*—*Bouloue Bashas, and Vekilardi.*—*Method of obtaining Rank and Promotion under the Algerine Government.*—*Cursory Ideas on the Subject of Military Regulations in all Countries.*—*Quarters and Allowance of the Soldiery.*—*Their Pay.*—*Punctuality with which the Arrears are paid.*—*Ceremony observed on these Occasions.*—*Gradual Increase of the Soldier's Remuneration.*—*Different Modes of adding to it, and his Prospect of future Repose.*—*Account of the Algerine Army.*—*By whom composed.*—*Bedouin Cavalry.*—*Annual Operations to collect the Tribute, plunder the Tribes, &c.*—*Punishments awarded by the Caia.*—*Order of the March.*—*General Treatment of the Soldiery.*—*Its Effects.*—*Qualities of the Dey's Army.*—*Its Operations left to the Direction of the General.*—*Councils of War.*—*Mode of Encamping, and Order of Battle.*—*Method of attacking, and re-forming when put into disorder.*—*General Character of the Algerine Soldiers.*—*Anecdote of an Italian Chief.*—*Character of the Turkish Militia.*—*Their Power over the Moorish Population.*—*Reflections.*—*Allusion to the Victories of Cheban Dey.*—*Characteristics of the Janizaries.*—*The various Advantages enjoyed by them over other Soldiers of Fortune.*

"I SHOULD like," said Mr. Rigby to Charles Fox, "in order that we might be able the more easily to read men's minds, if every one's heart had a window." "Aye, and to lay a tax on it, perhaps,"

said the statesman. Although the financial system of Barbary cannot be enriched by an imposition of the above nature, the political economists of Algiers would most willingly avail themselves of an equally improbable source of taxation, was any person to take the trouble of persuading them of its efficacy. Ever ready to obtain money by violence and extortion, the African financier is frequently prevented from levying direct and regular imposts, owing to his ignorance of those refined calculations and innumerable subdivisions, which a European chancellor of the exchequer finds so very convenient. What some people call the art of *raising*, is, however, much better managed in Algiers than in many other places: if, for instance, the Dey is rather hard pushed, he has merely to give directions for the strangling of two or three governors, and then seize their treasures; decapitating a few rich Moors, whose property may be also confiscated; he can next order an irruption of the Turks amongst the Bedouins and independent Kaids; or declare war against some of the weaker European states; and if not pacified by a well-timed tribute and present, his cruisers will not be long in replenishing the treasury. The last resource of his highness is generally found in one of those intolerable oppressions called the Avarcas.

The Moors, whose predominant passion is an inordinate love of money, would resist the most trifling addition to those imposts already established on merchandize, or the necessaries of life; while they look with apparent indifference on the numerous oppressions and confiscations, practised towards individuals: the first being considered as the greatest vexations, while the second are regarded as no more than acts of temporary rigour, and proofs of legitimate authority. Amongst the more humane and civilized governments of Europe, it is but fair to draw a few drops of blood from each member of the community; but no one likes to be skinned alive, by tax-gatherers, as in Africa; where any person who attracts the rapacious chief's attention, is not only deprived of all his property, but generally

thrown into a dungeon and loaded with chains into the bargain. It is strange, however, that with so much less reason, the people of Barbary should bear their weight of taxation, without half the complaints we are daily in the habit of hearing in Christian countries, where it is the constant source of weeping and gnashing of teeth. Sir Robert Walpole having once received a proposal to lay a tax on dogs: "No, no!" said the minister: "if I did that, I should have every dog in the kingdom barking at me as I went along!" But what is a financier to do, when every source of legitimate taxation is exhausted? He may certainly have recourse to the proposition which was once made, to levy a general tax upon rogues: which according to the projector's opinion, would not only be the most productive hitherto adopted; but have the double advantage of very few people being able to evade it: while such an equitable impost must, of all others, be least calculated to excite public dissatisfaction.

The despots of Barbary are sole proprietors of that, which is in other countries, the property of the state. In Europe, the old maxim of "get money, honestly if you can; but at all events, get money!" is a little qualified; and from long habit, has passed into a standard rule of life: whereas the Dey of Algiers would most assuredly reject all but the two first words of it; his policy being to collect the needful, and take good care of it when once in his possession. This accounts for the amazing extent of the treasures he is said to have amassed. It has long been a question with writers on political economy, whether the precious metals are more advantageously employed, when in constant circulation, than that a government should keep funds, that would enable it to meet any emergency that arose, without having recourse to borrowing at a heavy interest; which always leads to increased taxation? Many great men, and amongst the rest, Sixtus V. Henry IV. of France, and Frederick of Prussia, were of the latter opinion; while another class of politicians thought otherwise on the subject. No one can doubt, but that a well

stored coffer must be highly beneficial, and always convenient: it must, however, belong to the nation; and not be left to the capricious wants of the prince, or voluptuous luxuries of a court; if it is appropriated to the necessities of the state, and not to calm the apprehensions of a man who governs; if proportioned to the revenues and general means of the country, and accumulated by wise measures of economy, proceeding from those imposts, which are placed on abundance and luxury, and not the result of rapacious avarice and insatiable avidity.

When any extraordinary or unlooked for emergency occurs at Algiers, the Dey, instead of applying to his own coffers, has immediate recourse to a new and oppressive contribution. His highness never dreams of building a ship, or constructing any works of public utility, with the money he has thus wrung from the vitals of his people. The only object a Dey of Algiers has, in collecting a treasure, arises from the hope of being enabled to retire with it, in the event of a sudden tempest, which might endanger his power or life. Were these chiefs more just and beneficent, they would neither have occasion to hoard or conceal their treasures. A prince who is beloved by his subjects, is always rich, and can never want money. It being asked of the good Henry IV. how much France yielded him? "Whatever I like," answered his majesty. "How can that be, Sire?" was rejoined, "because in possessing the hearts of my people, I can at any time command their money:" was the patriot monarch's reply.

The ordinary imposts of Algiers consist of a tenth in kind on all the natural productions of the soil; this is levied under the inspection of experienced persons, who are regularly sent round the country at harvest time. Tribute paid by the Berberi and Bedouin tribes; property left by those who die without inheritors; duty of twelve and a half per cent. paid on all imports, and two and a half on exports; the port charge of twenty dollars on each vessel that anchors in the bays or moles of the regency; price of the licences, called Teschera, accorded for permission to export corn, oil, or live stock; the sale of

salt; profits accruing from piracy; presents, and tributes paid by European powers; and the usanza, or gratuitous bribes, in the first instance, but so extremely palatable to the conscientious ministers of Barbary, that once received, they are never relinquished afterwards.

There is, however, much to admire in the frugal habits of an Algerine chief, and his extraordinary forbearance from dipping into the treasures of the state. The economy of princes, is the greatest favour they can bestow on their people. If courtiers enjoy the sovereign's liberality, the people profit by his refusals. A prince of Korazan, remarkable for the most unbounded generosity, having become king of Persia, immediately changed his previously extravagant mode of living; and besides various economical reforms in his household, not only ceased to keep so splendid a court, but considerably diminished the number of his donations to poets, painters, and musicians: the auditors, treasurers, and chamberlains who fattened on the former credulity of their master, having thrown out some hints of dissatisfaction at the new arrangements, received the following memorable reply from his majesty: "It was my own property, of which I lately disposed so freely; but I am now dispensing that of my subjects!" The treasure of the state, says La Beaumelle, was at one time called *l'épargne*, to lay up or save; but since it has been so profusely expended, we have become ashamed of that homely title: hence its present one, of *tresor royal!* Economy is praiseworthy, if for no other reason, than its adoption affording us the best means of being liberal to those who may want our assistance; but as a fine writer has observed, in speaking of the application of public money, the taxes that princes take from their people, ought to resemble the vapours which are attracted from our soil by the god of day, for the purpose of being again distributed in refreshing dews.

The Algerine militia, which has so much influence on its political destinies, is divided into regiments, or rather bands, called Oldacks, and Ortes, into which none but Turks are admitted. The Moorish

armed force is styled Zowak, or Zouavi, and commanded by Turkish officers; an organization not unlike that of the Bengal Sepoys.

The Aga is commander in chief of the troops stationed at the capital, the keys of which are brought to him every night; while it is also his province to issue all orders, relative to military discipline, the security of fortresses, &c. His continuance in office does not exceed two moons; for which he receives two thousand patacha chicha, and has a good table kept for himself, as well as those friends he may choose to invite, during his administration. The Aga is not permitted to keep either wives or children where he resides: he is always on horseback when abroad, and preceded by two Chiaux, who cry out, "make way: behold the Aga!" This office is considered as one of repose, and is consequently, in most cases, given to old servants who have deserved well of the state. By the very judicious method observed in replacing the Aga every two months, either by a Yias Bacha, or one of the senior officers of the Oldacks, a spirit of emulation and hope of advancement is excited amongst the soldiery, while it creates a great increase of zeal, without giving rise to that extreme discontent which is generated in more civilized countries by abuse of patronage, and the too frequent preference given to hereditary claims, or private favour, over merit and length of service. When an officer is superseded in Barbary, he does not thereby forfeit either his hopes or claims to another appointment: it is, on the contrary, an additional inducement for the superior to profit, whenever a favourable opportunity presents itself, by those services which have already proved useful to the community.

The Aga del Campo, of the field, commands the army when employed in active service: his *en second*, is called Boulouc Basha, or Caia. The Aga, or as he is sometimes styled, Caia del Campo, presides at the general meetings of military men, held opposite the Dey's palace. Those who have retired from this distinguished office, owing either to old age or ill health, are honoured with the title of Aga Mezouli: they generally enjoy a large share of popular esteem,

and can appear in the divan, although unqualified to vote. In all affairs of importance, the Dey also avails himself of their wisdom and experience. Nothing is more satisfactory to the youthful candidate for military glory, than the flattering prospect of independent and reverenced old age; when the gratitude of his country is more than a reward for all his toils and sufferings.

The inferior Boulouc Bashas, are employed as commanders of regiments, and governors of fortresses; they also administer justice in the corps which may be under their command: they are principally distinguished by a high cap, which is marked with a red cipher. The Oldack Bashas, are those who command the Zouavi: these officers are known by a leather belt worn across the shoulder: the purveyors are called Vekilardi; and, as may be readily conceived, are not the richest part of an Algerine army.

People do not arrive at the highest posts in the militia, either by sudden preferment, money, or protection; but by age and service. Whenever a vacancy occurs, the oldest officer is invariably appointed to occupy it; while the next in seniority takes his place. Thus, by a common act of justice, and equity of arrangement, which could hardly be expected in the military regulations of a barbarous government, the promotion or removal of a single person, enables it to move every officer of a corps up one step, at the same time; without that confusion, clashing of interests, and discontent, which a different system must inevitably produce; not to mention its influence on the physical efficacy of military bodies.

It cannot certainly be denied, that the above mode of advancement may have the effect of impeding the career of those individuals, whose characters are marked by a greater share of ambition, and more enterprising talents than their less ardent companions; but then, it is the surest bar to that spirit of party, and disposition to cabal, which so frequently destroys the harmony of European corps; often rendering them, the very focus of insubordination and tumult. Those who advocate the paramount importance of advancing younger

men to military rank, have, while acknowledging the superior claims of more experienced public servants, contended, that however important a strict observance of gradual promotion might be in a period of peace, it would be far from calculated to promote the national interests in time of war; when the necessary degree of courage, resolution and enterprize, is most likely to be found in the young soldier. They allow, that an old general may have more knowledge and experience; but maintain the necessity of bringing forward that fearless courage, blended with presence of mind, and contempt of danger, which more generally distinguish the youthful candidate, and are frequently the forerunners of important results and brilliant successes; which the slow and calculating maxims of old age, jealous of risking its reputation, is seldom found to achieve. A young officer of grenadiers, who had distinguished himself, being once sent to announce a great victory to his sovereign, solicited the cross of St. Louis, as a reward for his services and mission: to this the king observed, that he was too young; upon which, the youthful hero replied, "but, Sire, I request your majesty to recollect, that not one of our corps has yet arrived at the age of forty." Thus it is, that arguments are always found for and against those subjects, which at first may appear extremely simple and incapable of controversy: for my own part, I am led to imagine, that where strict justice and impartiality, is the undeviating rule of action with governments, as it inevitably should be, the interests of old and experienced officers, may be very easily consulted, without damping the ardour, or preventing the advancement of those, whose extraordinary merit may require immediate honours and rewards. If, however, this enquiry has extended to a more minute examination of facts, it would, I have no doubt, be found, that the number of persons who are induced to complain of the too speedy advancement of young officers, bears a very insignificant proportion to those who lament that preference which they derive, not from personal merit or length of service, but the very inadequate qualifications of interest and fortune.

Those soldiers who are not married, live together in a large and

commodious barrack: they are well fed by the government, and have Christian slaves to attend them: each man is allowed four small loaves, which is more than he can consume, together with the privilege of purchasing meat at a third lower than the market price: if he marries, he not only loses the benefit of the quarters, but also that of buying his meat at a cheaper rate, besides other advantages. These regulations are imposed by the government, with a view of preventing too close an union between the foreign soldiers and natives, whom it is at present necessary to keep in the lowest state of subjection.

The pay of the Algerine soldiery is one of the principal objects in the administration of government, being solemnly guaranteed by the Dey, on ascending the throne. The time of settling takes place every two months, when the arrears are paid up with the most scrupulous exactness: this ceremony is attended to by his highness, and the principal officers of the divan. Every man receives his pay in person: this is either of gold or silver: each individual being called by name, if any person be absent, he may get it the next time; but is reprimanded for not being present on the former day. No officer in the state, from the Dey downwards, has any other fixed salary, than that of the common soldier at its highest maximum, except the Aga of the militia, and this only continues during the two months he is in office. The soldier's pay is exceedingly small at first, but increases fifty aspri every year, at the election of a new chief, or announcement of a great victory: by this means, the degree of remuneration goes on progressively for twelve or thirteen years, when there is no farther advance: arriving at this period of service, it is called paga chiusa, closed pay; because it does not admit of any greater increase. Having obtained the rank of Mezoul Agà, the Turkish Janizaries enjoy this to the end of their days; but he who abandons the service without sufficient reason, not only loses his pay, but the esteem of his companions.

When pay-day arrives, all the officers assemble in the hall of the divan, the soldiers remaining in the court: the principal Aga having

taken his seat to preside, the Dey, as first soldier of the republic, stands up on one side, and receives his pay like another; his only privilege being that of having a double proportion, and being paid first: after paying his highness, the Aga calls all the rest, who are paid in regular rotation, according to their age and length of service; the Caiti, or youngest soldier's pay, amounts to no more than four saimi, or four hundred and six aspri, every two months; while the oldest in service receive a number of aspri, which are equivalent to about four sequins of our money.* It is by such a mode of payment, that an Algerine chief is enabled to keep up a large military force, with little more than two hundred thousand piastres a year:† so that in a country whose government could not exist one hour without an armed force, its regular payment has neither the effect of absorbing the revenues of the state, nor endangering the body politic.

The soldiery, particularly those who fill the higher offices, enjoy a variety of pecuniary advantages besides their pay: all participate in the distribution of prize-money; they also gain by plunder during their predatory incursions to the interior: in addition to these, they are at liberty to follow any trade, embark on board corsairs, or devote themselves to commercial pursuits; it being merely required that they shall be ready to serve when called upon. When exhausted by old age or ill health, the Algerine soldier retains his pay, and is suffered quietly to pass the remainder of his days in tranquil retirement. The bustle and fatigue of early life, sit comparatively light on the mind, when thus assured of future repose and provision.

The Turks, who form the great sinew of the Algerine army, seldom exceed fifteen thousand; the corps of Chiloulis and Zouavi, increase it many more; while the Dey's call to the Bedouins, brings in all those of the latter, whose sheiks happen to be well affected

* About two pounds.

† Forty thousand pounds.

towards his highness: these are always mounted, carrying a long lance, which, together with their horse, is managed as dexterously as those of the Scythians and Parthians of old. On occasions of great emergency, it is supposed that a popular chief could bring an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men into the field. During the late expedition against Tunis, the Algerine army amounted to nearly half that number.

In the spring of each year, three separate corps leave the capital, for the purpose of collecting the tribute, plundering the tribes, and increasing the territory of the Dey. In passing through the different provinces they are joined by a body of volunteers from each. On quitting Algiers, his highness appoints an Aga to command each corps, which is also accompanied by a Caia to administer justice: as no officer can chastise a soldier, before sentence is pronounced by him, he is attended by two of the Chiaux, who execute all punishments.

The Algerine soldiery march on foot, as also their officers, with the exception of the Aga and Caia. In marching, the army is not divided into battalions or squadrons, but tents; each large one containing twenty men. The mules and horses remain tied outside, while the baggage and provisions are deposited within. There are Moorish guides for the horses, of which a certain number is allowed to each tent, to carry the baggage and other necessaries. Every man carries a day's provision about his person. The sick and wounded are placed on mules; and fresh relays of horses always follow, to replace those which fall from over fatigue or other causes. The cavalry is distributed in like order, and attended by a proportionate increase of attendants.

The soldiers are treated with a considerable degree of mildness, being never struck by any of the inferior officers, which practice is known to have the effect of not only impairing a man's physical powers, but destroying his spirit. By this mode, even the soldiers of a despotism like that of Algiers, are something more than the "machine with a musket in his hand:" in which light the *philosophic* Frederick of Prussia

was pleased to consider one of his soldiers! Notwithstanding the above, a very rigorous discipline is maintained: if any one gives himself up to pillage, before the action is over, he is punished with the utmost severity: the Algerine soldiery are also very obedient, not so much through fear of chastisement, as a fondness for their calling; they also possess an *esprit de corps*, which in them is equivalent to patriotism. Independent of being excellent marksmen, they are brave and resolute in battle; nor has their cavalry lost any thing of its ancient spirit, so warmly panegyrized by the Roman historians. It is, however, to be observed, that if the enemy resist their first charge, or surround them by an unexpected and rapid movement, they are soon thrown into confusion, without the power of rallying. The armies of Barbary are also extremely ill provided with, and still worse served in their artillery; and owing to the quantity of baggage, women and children, cattle, &c. which follow in their train, the march is constantly retarded. Totally ignorant of providing for winter quarters, the season no sooner changes, than all are anxious to return home: this inclination gives rise to mutiny and tumult; which frequently ends in the decapitation of their unfortunate chiefs, as practised by the Punic legions of former days.

Whenever an Algerine force is in the field, its operations are not influenced or cramped by councils of war, and previous arrangements; all being left to the general's discrimination and judgment, to act according to the circumstances which may arise, in the course of the campaign. The best laid plans which are formed to regulate the conduct of an army, can never be equal to meet all the exigencies which occur on service; when success must eventually depend on the advantages an able general may take of local circumstances. The celebrated La Bourdonnaye, being asked how he managed his private concerns so well, while his Indian campaigns turned out so disastrously; answered, "because I was guided by my own judgment in the former; while it was necessary to follow the instructions received from the directors, in managing the latter."

In marching, an Algerine army observes the following order: the van-guard is composed of a large portion of the infantry, with a squadron of cavalry on each flank, but rather behind: the remainder forms two files, one of which marches on each side of the baggage: two other bodies of horse, attend the flanks of this division: the rear-guard seldom consists of more than a few hundred men: in forming an encampment the tents are pitched in a line; when desirous of preparing for battle, the baggage and superfluous followers are detached to a convenient spot, and protected by a suitable guard: a corps of infantry forms the front line; while the flanks are composed of cavalry, and the reserve is ready to act whenever occasion requires. If the van-guard is routed, or put into disorder, the cavalry and rear-guard form a compact body towards the centre; by which means, it is obliged to re-form, and the vacancies are filled up. Their mode of attack is principally distinguished by impetuosity and violence; they are, at the same time, extremely well calculated for taking an enemy by surprize; and, if successful in a first attack, become truly formidable; but once repulsed, it is very difficult to bring them back to another charge. Soldiers, who have an implicit faith in predestination, are easily discouraged; and bravery is of little use, where this feeling takes possession of the mind. With all these disadvantages, the Algerine soldiery are strongly imbued with a military spirit; war is their ruling passion; and they have not hitherto, found much difficulty in gratifying their predominant wishes: without war, they must cease to exist; like the organized banditti, who devastated Italy during the early periods of Italian history. A mendicant friar meeting one of their celebrated chiefs, Giovanni Aguto, repeated the usual salutation of "God give you peace!" "And may he take away your alms," replied the captain. "Why do you wish me so much ill-luck?" rejoined the priest. "And why," answered Giovanni, "do you call upon Heaven to send me peace; when you know, that I have quite as much need of war, as you have of charity!"

Having, in a former chapter, taken occasion to notice the extraor-

dinary state of subjection and servitude, in which twelve or fourteen thousand Turkish adventurers are enabled to keep a population of several millions, it now remains to offer a few remarks on some of the causes which contribute to this singular fact. The ground-work of the Janizary's influence is laid in his vigilance and activity; which are greatly aided by a constant recollection of the terrible examples already made of those Moors, who may have dared to raise a hand, or express dissatisfaction against the iron sway of their oppressors. Knowing that the slightest efforts at resistance, or most trifling murmur of disapprobation, is sufficient to involve the lives and fortunes of a whole family, the Moorish father never fails to inculcate the necessity of the most passive silence and implicit obedience into the minds of all his children, even from their earliest infancy. The wonderful power which a comparatively small military force, frequently obtains over a disunited, vitiated, and indolent people, is by no means a new phenomenon in the history of nations. A Roman legion was sufficient to retain the whole Cyrenaica, from Berenice to the Deserts of the Thebaid. A handful of soldiers, under the enterprizing Cortez, and sanguinary Pizarro, destroyed the throne of the Incas, and succeeded in conquering the vast empire of Athaliba and Montezuma. A few Norman knights effected the conquest of Sicily. Brandenburgh and Prussia suffered themselves to be governed by some hundred half civilized knights of the Teutonic order. Eight thousand Mamalukes dominate over the fertile plains of Egypt. Even the great dynasty of Fohi was overturned by an inconsiderable banditti; which in placing another family on its throne, gave rise to the longest royal succession ever known in Asia. It would appear, that the Janizaries of Barbary have imbibed a large share of that self-importance and arrogant spirit, which has enabled their predecessors in the art of pillage and oppression, to impose on the fatal ignorance, and baleful credulity of other nations. Full of animation and vigour, the Turkish soldier seems born to command. At the earliest periods of this regency's history, a few thousand well

directed Janizaries were enabled to make the most terrible incursions into the territories of Tunis and Morocco. More recently, and during the war carried on by the ferocious Muley Ishmael against Cheban Dey, the latter went forth to meet him, with only six thousand Turks, and four thousand Moors; and gained a tremendous victory over the enemy, whose army amounted to seventy thousand men. The Morocco chief was on this occasion not only obliged to sue for peace, but to send his own son to Algiers with rich presents, as one of the conditions by which it was granted. At another time, when Cheban suspected that there was a secret understanding between the Bey of Tunis and Muley Ishmael, he marched against Mehemed Bey with three thousand Turks, and fifteen hundred Moors; and although his opponent was strongly encamped with a force of twenty thousand horse and foot, it was carried by assault, Tunis taken, and Benchoquer, a rival chief, placed on Mehemed's throne, the former becoming a tributary of Algiers. After this brilliant expedition, Cheban returned to his capital, followed by two thousand camels laden with the richest booty. The various memorable attacks made on Oran, while in possession of the Spaniards, furnish another proof of what the Janizaries were capable in former days.

It must be confessed, that if on the one hand these soldiers of fortune are neither improved by study or education, when elevated to power or command, they contrive to assume an air of grandeur and dignity, which is particularly calculated to impose on ordinary minds: these apparent qualities are considerably embellished by their fine and majestic forms, venerable beards, large turbans, and flowing costumes. All, attributes which serve to prove, that posts of eminence are not in every case made for the man, but that the possessor may sometimes confer importance on the office he fills: besides, most people gain on being viewed from below. Without the advantages of reading, treatises or physiognomy, or the yet more inexplicable science of craniology, the Turks possess a wonderful facility in discovering the thoughts and characters of others, while their own are concealed

in impenetrable mystery. These are no trifling qualifications in the formation of public men, and none are endowed with them in greater perfection, than the Ortes of Barbary.

Animated by the greatest unanimity amongst themselves, and forming an integral part of the government, the Turkish soldier has every inducement to defend his property with zeal, and his power with unshaken resolution. Besides, those who compose the bands called Oldacks, have in Algiers, a decided advantage over all other Turkish subjects, or indeed any of the Mahometan persuasion. Throughout the Eastern governments every individual is obliged to serve for many years as an *Icolano*, or private soldier, in which he passes through a noviciate of the utmost humiliation and servility. In Syria, Egypt, and Constantinople, it is thought a mark of great distinction in society, if a man can boast of having been first sold as a slave; whereas, those who are enlisted for the service of Algiers, are thenceforward perfectly independent, and enjoy the privilege of at once throwing themselves into the field of fortune and emulation, where their natural love of power and command, is fostered into profitable maturity.

It may, in fact, be very safely admitted that the Turkish soldiery of Algiers have a manifest advantage over, and are infinitely happier than those who follow a similar trade in every other part of the world: without being exposed to excessive fatigue, they have merely enough occupation to promote health and the animal spirits; their labours only tend to sweeten repose, and render pleasure more fascinating. They always obtain what their services require, and justice demands, without being exposed to the mortifying degradation of witnessing the elevation of persons, without merit or length of service over their heads: respected, feared, and looked up to as masters, the very Dey himself may be considered as their creature, for he is raised to power by their election, and must treat them with a corresponding attention and deference. They are regularly paid, and certain of a provision for old age or infirmity. If they are

punished, the chastisement is not such as to degrade them, for it is never inflicted in public, but in an apartment of the Aga's house. A Turkish soldier may also aspire to all the offices of the state: as the Dey is usually chosen from amongst the Oldacks, each warrior may reach that sublime post, and is thus a species of presumptive heir to the throne: even their crimes and vices, carry an air of splendor along with them. It is true, they plunge into the stream of ambition, with violence and impetuosity: advancing boldly in a direct course, they do not approach it by obscure and tortuous windings; and if soiled with some grains of sand from the vortex, they are not covered by mire.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Piracy.—The natural State of the Barbary Governments.—Their Political Maxims.—Their Interest in going to War.—Mode of declaring it, and making Reprisals.—Treatment of European Consuls and Subjects.—Method of justifying their Policy with respect to Foreign Powers.—Mode of carrying on Hostilities.—Argument in favour of it.—Northern Africa always the Retreat and Abode of Pirates.—Cursory View of their Depredations.—Of Captures.—Their Sale, and Distribution of Prize Money.—Mode of disposing of Slaves.—The Basistan.—Tegorarini.—Occupation of Christian Captives.—Of Ransoming.—The Fathers of Redemption, or Trinity.—Their Mode of proceeding in ALGIERS.*—Efforts of the Author and others to promote the Liberation of Sicilian Slaves.—Allusion to the Exertions of the British Government to emancipate them.—Remarks in praise of the Conduct of those Italian Sovereigns, who have made Peace with the Barbary Powers.—Various useful Hints to those who become Slaves.—Best Time of escaping.—Probable Result of a well organized Combination amongst the Christian Slaves at* ALGIERS.*—Observations, &c.*

IT was long since observed, that to be engaged in war and depredation is the natural state of the Barbary powers. Their hatred of honest industry, by which they might so easily rival the commercial spirit of other nations, no less than their native avidity, impels them on to the trade of piracy, by which they have been hitherto enabled to procure that, which they are unwilling to earn by cultivating the arts of peace, or promoting the ends of good government. Their innate love of plunder and spoliation is encouraged by a barbarous faith, rooted hatred of Christians, the recollection of what the Moors effected in other days, together with the infamous policy of their

chiefs, whose great object is to provide occupation for the turbulent, and an easy prey to avarice. To such a length, indeed, has this system become necessary in Algiers, that a Dey has been frequently obliged to declare war, to avoid being deposed and strangled. It has even passed into a proverb, that, "If Algiers was at peace with all the world, the inhabitants would die of hunger!"

It is piracy, in fact, which forms the basis of the Barbary governments. This accounts for their bitter complaints against the king of England, for having obliged them to make peace with so many of their enemies. They were equally dissatisfied with those political changes which united Italy to the overgrown French empire; and, for the time being at least, seemed to snatch the former out of their rapacious fangs. "You will," said they, in a memorial lately addressed to the British government, "reduce us to such a state, that we shall not have a single enemy left." I also heard the Grand Rais exclaim, with a deep sigh: "Ah! how things have changed! At first, when there were so many enemy's vessels about, and captures to be made, the sea was a perfect jewel to us; but it is now a desert, and no longer of any value!" Like their ancient founders, Horuc and Haraydan, the people of Barbary still wished to be considered friends of the sea, but enemies to all those who are found on it.

Such doctrines, and a similar line of conduct to that in which they have persisted for three hundred years, is well suited to their character and circumstances. All the advantages of war have from a variety of causes been hitherto on their side; an immense extent of comparatively unprotected coast, invites, as it were, the piratical adventurers of Barbary: fraught with wickedness and bad faith, treaties are broken by them when no longer convenient; and an unexpected attack is sure to be made on those, who have not the means, or may be unwilling to gratify their insatiable covetousness. Without making the smallest scruple of betraying a friendly power, it is frequently defended on the ground of their predecessors having acted in the same way! If induced to yield to menaces, or humbled by force,

they speedily assume a bolder attitude than ever. Well knowing that a fleet cannot be always in readiness to punish their aggressions, or remain to watch their movements; impunity has taught them, that the most violent insults are only resented by vain diplomatic representations, or at best compromised for a nominal satisfaction: making a settled rule of violating the most solemn treaties, they may well pity our weakness, and smile with contempt on that sottish credulity with which we confide in their promises. A truce is often made with some Christian power, merely for the purpose of lulling commercial men into a fatal security: these, willing to take advantage of the apparently favourable moment, send their vessels out. The barbarians, ever on the watch, take care to ascertain the period of their return with rich cargoes, and pouncing on the unsuspecting prey, conduct it into port; after which, war is formally declared!

The most trifling circumstance is sufficient to induce the commencement of hostilities on the part of a Barbary chief. The Dey of Algiers once declared war against the Americans, because a secretary had been forgotten in the distribution of presents. An Algerine boat being once taken in the vicinity of Bona, a Spanish ship happened to anchor at Algiers the next day, it was found convenient to suspect her of being the aggressor: nothing more was necessary, to cause her sequestration, until his highness examined the question. Although the Spanish captain felt satisfied of his innocence, he could not forget the kind of judges who were about to sit on his fate, and having no ambition to wear the chains of slavery, he contrived to weigh anchor in the night, and thus escaped the lion's mouth. This was neither a very blameable or imprudent proceeding. Beaumarchais said, that if accused of carrying off the steeple from a cathedral, he would begin by escaping, and make his defence afterwards. On hearing of the Spaniard's flight, the Dey became perfectly furious: stamping and swearing like a Turk, nothing less than curses and death breathed from his highness. The vice-consul at Bona, together with all his countrymen there, was

immediately arrested and loaded with chains; after which not a moment was lost in declaring war against his most Catholic Majesty. The cabinet of Madrid being anxious to make matters up, the mediation of England was solicited: this led to the vice-consul's liberation, together with that of his companions, and peace was granted to Spain on condition of its paying forty thousand dollars to the Dey, and as many more in presents to those ministers, who had succeeded in calming the anger of his highness against Spain!!! It is thus, that while the pirates having really nothing to lose, they are the very first to appeal to robbery and the knife: their persons and property must be sacred, while all the rest of the world remain tributary. In remonstrating to the English consul against the capture of an Algerine ship, that was taken off Toulon, while attempting to carry naval stores into the harbour, though in a state of blockade, they observed, "you have done an act of injustice: these things are allowed to us, because we are thieves, and pass for such; but not to you, who are always preaching up equity and justice." From the above it will be seen that with the Algerines, piracy is a most honourable calling, and the surest way to acquire glory. Soliman Dey used to exclaim, "The people of Algiers are robbers, and I am their chief!"

The cruel manner in which these powers commence hostilities, is no less worthy of remark than their mode of continuing them. When war is declared against any power, the first measure by which it is marked, is that of arresting the consul, merchants, and all other individuals of the nation which may be selected as the objects of plunder. In a late war with Holland, the venerable consul, M. Fraissinet, who had resided for twenty years in that capacity, and bore the most irreproachable character, was loaded with irons, and thrown into a dungeon, where he soon fell a victim to their barbarity. Not only is the whole progress of a corsair's cruize marked by violence, but every successful attack made the forerunner of some particular acts of cruelty, which are not even practised by the most savage Indians. Ships of every nation are taken by surprize, and

plundered: landing on the peaceful and defenceless coasts of Italy, the old and young, men, women, and children, are dragged from their homes to be sold in the slave-market of Algiers! If a prize has been unjustly captured, and restitution is awarded, care is taken that none of the valuable property is restored, and all farther appeal or effort to obtain redress, is completely fruitless. When I complained of the effects which were taken from me, the Dey replied, in a tone of impatience, that what was taken, was taken; and could no longer be found. His highness added, "When you have picked a fowl and dispersed the feathers into the air, how are they to be collected again?" This was a species of logic which, however conclusive, did not bring me much comfort.

With these freebooters, nothing is either grand or useful that is not attained by plunder and war. The only question in Barbary is, where can riches be obtained with the greatest facility: like the evil genius of Milton, who being placed in a splendid palace, ornamented with the finest works of art and industry, kept his eyes steadily fixed on the golden pavement.

By a strange fatality, the northern coast of Africa has ever been the abode of a plundering race, and afforded shelter to guilt. How often have the Roman poets alluded to those who inhabited the vicinity of the Syrtis Minor and Major, as being the scourge and horror of the peaceful navigators of the Mediterranean. Even the Carthaginians, of whom history has said so much, were, I should imagine, little more than pirates of a higher order, when so very successful against the Balearic and other islands, near the African or Italian coast. The depredations of those lawless spirits who infested the coast of Africa, and destroyed all the trading communication of countries within the Straits, were not finally put an end to until about a hundred and twenty years before the Christian era; when the Roman senate dispatched the consul, C. Metellus, whose brilliant success over the pirates, was honoured by the addition of Balearicus to his name. Afterwards, in the reign of Tiberius, nothing could exceed

the terror which was spread by the ravages of several other daring chiefs. Modern history has not failed to record the sanguinary deeds of Dragut Rais, and Chainadin; the descent of Mamuco at Messina, where he sacked the celebrated Benedictine convent, putting all the fathers to death; the disembarkation at Sorrento, from whence ten thousand slaves were led into captivity; the terrible visit of Barbarossa to Elba and Caprea; and the depredations of these pirates who landed in Ireland, during the government of the unfortunate Wentworth. The people of Barbary are, indeed, what they ever were, and must continue so, till the arm of conquest introduces a total change of manners and greater degree of civilization.

It is a melancholy truth, which applies to people of other countries as well as Africa, that a nation often preserves the vices while it loses the virtues of its ancestors.

To the foregoing cursory remarks on the general character of the piratical states, it may be as well to add a few more relative to the circumstances which usually follow that of being captured by a Barbary corsair. When the squadron makes a prize, a crew, composed of Turks and Moors, immediately replace that of the captured vessel, which is received on board the ship of the Grand Rais; she is then ordered to proceed to Algiers, or the nearest port on the coast. If taken by a private corsair, the prize is towed within sight of the capital; when the flag of the vanquished enemy is displayed under that of the corsair, and several guns announce the capture. Consigned to the captain of the port, the cruizer returns to sea in search of more booty. An inventory of the prize's cargo being taken, it is presented to his highness, who is the legal proprietor of all captures, but is satisfied with merely taking an eighth. If the cargo is composed of such articles as can be conveniently divided amongst the captors, a division of the spoils is made according to their respective rank; otherwise the whole is sold, and a distribution of prize-money follows. Should there be none of the Moorish merchants disposed to purchase the cargo, the Jews are forced to buy it.

It is remarkable, that all Christian slaves, who may have been on board an Algerine when any capture is made, are entitled to their share of the prize; it being presumed their good fortune contributed to the event! On the squadron or corsair's return to port, the crews are landed; and having remained a few days with their families, present themselves before the Rais to receive their quota of prize-money. The Dey, notwithstanding his power, cannot, on these occasions, imitate the lion in the fable: if disposed to make too large a claim, some audacious Janizary would soon protest against it. As when, during the division of spoils at Soissons, Clovis, having demanded a rich vase, one of his ferocious soldiers stepped forward, and striking it with his sabre, exclaimed, "here, you shall only receive what chance may award!"

In disposing of the captives, some are given to the Dey, while the rest fall into the hands of those who purchase them: the most comely, have the honour of being selected to attend his highness in the capacity of pages, and are soon decked out in the richest habiliments: those who have any trade, are let out to hire amongst the Moors, a third of their earnings being left to themselves: those who become the property of individuals, are of course treated better or worse, according to the character and disposition of their masters. However, by far the greater part, are wretchedly off, and soon show evident signs of what they suffer, by the meagre and squalid appearance, which soon follows in the train of captivity. Those destined to attend the troops in the Cassarias, are treated with great mildness.

Slaves intended for sale, are marched to the Basistan, or auction mart, and made to walk backwards and forwards, as we show the paces of a horse in Europe: a crier being in attendance to announce their number, trades, and respective qualities. Every one present is at liberty to bid, and each offer is registered by a clerk, before the slaves are delivered up. Another sale takes place at the Dey's palace, when his highness very conscientiously retains for himself whatever

may be offered over and above that of the first day's sale. No sooner is a slave *knocked down*, to use the technical phrase, than his purchaser must pay the purchase money; without which, unlike the auctions in some countries, it is mere lost time, for any body to attend the sale of Christians in Algiers. Women who have any prospect of being able to pay their ransom, are consigned to the Checkebeld's care, and remain in his house, till the arrangements for their emancipation are completed; while the poorer female captives are sold at the Basistan, and thenceforward abandoned to the brutal ferocity of the Moors and Turks. Amongst the various brokers who parade the streets of Algiers, the reader will not expect to hear, that some get their bread by dealing in human beings; yet such is undoubtedly the fact: these tender-hearted gentlemen are called *Tegorarini*, and attend all sales with the praiseworthy view of buying those slaves, whom they believe likely to bring a higher price when fattened up, or as in many cases, in the hope of their getting friends to come forward with a ransom. It is needless to add, that a slave who falls into the hands of such monsters is not to be envied; particularly when I add, that if they entertain an idea of his having any relative, who may be sufficiently rich to buy him off, the cruellest treatment is inflicted on the victim in order to stimulate his exertions to become free. Some of the Tegorarini let their slaves out to the consuls and other inhabitants at the rate of a piastre per month. With respect to the slaves, notwithstanding the cruelties they endure, it must be confessed many individuals amongst them, frequently call for punishment, on account of their bad conduct and insubordination: the proprietor is also often deterred from over working them, lest sickness or disease should deprive him of their services: their crimes too are overlooked in numerous instances, to prevent the consequences if brought before the Dey, who makes very little scruple of condemning a slave to death. It should, however, be recollected that all this arises from pure self-interest, without one particle of pity or benevolence being connected with it: some slaves, more fortunate than the rest, obtain leave to open taverns. It is

matter of regret, that the vices to which these have hitherto abandoned themselves, have prevented their accumulating money enough to pay their ransom. Some of those who understand a useful trade, get permission to work at it, by merely paying a monthly stipend to the Guardian Basha. It is, however, those who, as the Algerines say, "are good for nothing," that suffer most in the piratical city: this class is composed of gentlemen who have received *classical* educations; scientific professors, poets, literati, and philosophers.

The ransom of slaves, is effected either by the consuls who may be charged with this duty by their governments, through private merchants, or by the fathers of the Trinity:* these beneficent ministers

* A religious order founded in most Catholic countries, soon after the crusades, for the purpose of exhorting the charitable to contribute whatever they could afford to the relief and liberation of Christian captives. Members from the benign association were constantly employed in promoting the object of their benevolent calling, by preaching and other means; and the money collected was placed in a fund, to be afterwards devoted to the ransom of those who had been longest in captivity. Few ransoms had, however, been effected after the French revolution, which if it had the merit of removing some unnecessary institutions, certainly caused the destruction of many useful ones. It is natural to conclude, that previous to the reformation which separated this country from the Papal dominions, very large funds were collected in England for the above humane purpose; but having shared the fate of all other church property, it was afterwards left to the gratuitous charity of pious individuals to provide for the liberation of those captives, not redeemed by the government. As an appeal to the British public is seldom made in vain, we need not wonder at the large sums which were subsequently collected at different periods, for the relief of our captive countrymen. But amongst the rest, two philanthropists, Earl Craven, and Sir Thomas Betsom, a citizen of London; that body, which has ever been foremost in acts of beneficence and Christian charity, bequeathed legacies to a considerable amount, for the express purpose of liberating English slaves. These funds must have been productive of immense benefit, for a long time after their establishment, but are of course only occasionally called into action at present. It would, however, be a great pity to withdraw them altogether from the original purpose; as Mr. Jackson, in his Account of Morocco, has very plainly demonstrated the way in which the worthy trustees may still render them subservient to acts of the most beneficent and charitable description; particularly in the above country, where individuals who may have been wrecked on the western coast of Africa, are generally brought, if fortunate enough to escape the dangers of shipwreck,

of peace and consolation, arriving at Algiers, notify their pious mission, state the sum of money they have brought, and on this three and a half per cent. is paid when landed, besides a *usanza* to the Dey and his ministers: without the scrupulous performance of this last ceremony, it is no use to visit the coast of Barbary. When over, the fathers are provided with a convenient habitation and good interpreter. Their first object, is that of liberating women and children, as those who are least able to bear the sufferings of captivity; the slaves longest in Algiers, and whose characters are most irreproachable, become the second care of the fathers, each bringing forward his little savings to complete the sum required for his ransom; this is fixed by the Dey, while each proprietor presses the commissioners to release his slaves in preference to the rest; money being generally more acceptable than property, which may be lost in such a variety of other ways. When the ransom is paid, the slaves are given up to their deliverers; upon which a white cloak is presented to each: this is followed by the celebration of a solemn mass in the Spanish hospital: a procession is then formed to the Pascialick, where the Iskerit, or attestation of freedom, is delivered to the fathers, who take their formal leave of his highness; and shortly after, continue the procession to the place of embarkation; closely watched, however, by the Turks, to prevent any slave, who may not have paid their ransom, gliding into it. Besides the imposts paid on landing, ten per cent. is exacted on the total amount of the money laid out for redeeming the

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and still more formidable horrors of the desert. Having had occasion to mention these funds, in the Second Volume, p. 207, of my Letters from the Mediterranean, I was led into an erroneous statement relative to an application made by the late consul at Algiers, Mr. Blankley, to the Recorder of London; which, I feel great pleasure in thus having an opportunity of retracting as publicly as it was made. I am not the first person, whose zeal for the cause of humanity has led to misapprehension; and judging of what I have since heard, from those who have the pleasure of moving in the above gentleman's circle, no man is likely to look on such errors with a more indulgent eye, than Sir John Silvester.—*Ed.*

slaves; there are other charges called Porte, paid to the Dey and his ministers.

These kind of liberations had become very rare at Algiers before my visit, owing to the enormous demands of the pirates, which during late years, amounted to no less a sum than fifteen hundred dollars for each seaman. If they suspected a slave of being rich, they required a most exorbitant sum for his release; as in the Sicilian Prince Paterno's case, for whose ransom five hundred thousand dollars were demanded. So languid had Christian charity become in Europe, towards the slaves of Barbary at least, that several years had been suffered to elapse without Algiers being visited by any of these pious missionaries. While in Sicily, the humane and enlightened minister of foreign affairs, Prince Villafranca, animated by the sublime zeal of benevolence, interested himself in the release of four hundred of his unfortunate countrymen, who had long suffered all the horrors of African slavery. His excellency did me the honour of allowing me to attempt a picture of their situation for the Sicilian public; wherein I drew but a faint sketch of the innumerable sorrows to which Christians are exposed on that desolate and inhospitable shore. The learned and eloquent preacher, Buon Giovanni, delivered a number of pathetic discourses on the same subject: but all our efforts did not succeed in realizing a larger sum than was merely sufficient to redeem a few sufferers. Those who languished in chains at Tunis, were more fortunate; the British government dispatched Admiral Sir Thomas Freemantle to that regency, for the express purpose of liberating all the Sicilian slaves there; the illustrious and compassionate Lady Bentinck, wife to the celebrated general of that name, and minister at the court of Sicily, with the intrepidity of a Christian heroine, accompanied the mission to aid the pious cause, and add her solicitations to those of the admiral: returning to Palermo with a hundred liberated slaves; how unlike the barbarous triumph of a Roman general! This benevolent lady must, on that occasion, have enjoyed the greatest delight, which it is reserved for generous minds to know. The benefits

we confer on the wretched, are so many trophies hung up in grateful hearts; and these are the only ones worth possessing; deserving more than empty praise, they are entitled to our blessings!

What does he know, who has not suffered? asks the proverb. I have suffered, and presume the nature of my observations and experience has enabled me to offer a few useful hints to those, who may at any future period, fall into the hands of the guilty robbers of Africa. Having borne the scourge, I may well repeat

Miseris succurrere disco!

The very first precaution to be observed by any person who is about to make a voyage in the Mediterranean, is that of embarking on board an English vessel: the captains of that nation are not only abler navigators, but of all others, least likely to deceive, and betray an unsuspecting passenger into the power of an enemy. The ship should be well armed, and capable of making a stout resistance; otherwise a small vessel is preferable, as she can the more readily escape, particularly during those light winds, which frequently prevail in this country. The most strict and scrupulous enquiries should be made as to the moral character, and professional talents of the captain with whom any one embarks; as loss and capture very generally arise from too great confidence in his talents, or total want of nautical ability. If discovered by the barbarians, neither fear nor trepidation must be shewn: even these wretches esteem courage; and not only despise poltroons, but make a point of ill-treating them when once in their power. It is equally inadvisable to betray any symptoms of despondency from the enemy's number that may heave in sight: a bold and well-timed evolution, being almost sure of carrying a moderately fast sailing vessel right through a whole squadron.

If near the shore, and there is no chance of the ship's escaping, the passengers should take to the long-boat, before the enemy gets too near, as in our own unfortunate case. In going from Gibralter, up towards Sicily or Sardinia, it is best not to follow the common

track, as the corsairs are always lying in wait off Cape de Gatt, Maritimo, and San Pietro. Along the coast of Africa, is supposed to be a much safer course than any other.

When capture becomes inevitable, I would recommend every one to conceal all the money or valuables they can about their persons; as the pirates always examine the trunks first, and seldom or ever search under the clothes: if there be any women amongst the passengers, they should take charge of the gold, as the Turks hold their persons sacred.

When made a slave, every one should endeavour to ingratiate himself with the Grande Scrivano and Guardian Bacha: a *douceur* is usefully disposed of to these gentlemen, and there is no fear of its being refused. Besides, gold is the only key which no locks, not even those of the heart, can ever resist. Æsop and Epictetus were slaves, and knew how to gain the esteem of their masters: virtue exacts respect from the most uncivilized. Care should be taken not to boast of one's family or fortune; as it might lead to a greater degree of hard usage, if only with a view of stimulating the slave to urge his friends for the ransom money.

Knowledge of any kind, that can be practically applied, should be shewn by the possessor, as it gains an additional share of respect, and may lead to profit: no one should ever reveal his circumstances to any of his companions, many of them being employed as spies, and too great slaves to keep a secret.

Fallen into the hands of a Turk or Moor, a slave's conduct should be well regulated and correct: propriety of demeanour, is always sure to gain friends: a strict observance of religious duties, is also a great recommendation with Musselmen.

Above all things, no one who has the misfortune to fall into the hands of the barbarians, should give himself up to despondency. There are sources of consolation, and reason to hope in the most desperate situations of life: as repeated experience has proved, there

is no knowing when a salutary spring may arise, to irrigate the sterile waste of life. The psalmist has said, "I have been young, and now am old. And yet saw I never the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread."

It will perhaps be asked, what facilities of escape a slave has in Algiers. It occasionally happens, that a captive saves himself by swimming on board some ship in the bay or mole; but nearly all the powers of Europe are obliged to give up any slaves that may be found on board their vessels: in this way, if the event be discovered, English and French ships of war are exempted by treaty from the humiliating degradation of returning a slave who succeeds in getting off to them: but, whenever any armed vessels of these two nations anchor near the capital, care is taken to keep a very strict look out on the captives, lest they should be induced to take advantage of the circumstance; when brought back, after having attempted to escape, a slave is well bastinadoed, and loaded with a double quantity of irons. Others, driven to desperation by ill usage, have attempted to escape in small fishing boats; but this is a most perilous experiment, being attended with an exposure to storms, hunger, and various other dangers, little inferior to death itself. To think of flying towards the interior, is certain destruction.

Something more effectual than the foregoing might, perhaps, be devised for the emancipation of Christian captives. And I was often inclined to think, that if the slaves were united by a common feeling of interest, and stimulated by that fervid glow which enthusiasm inspires, their liberation might be effected; particularly if there was a friendly squadron at hand, or even a tumult amongst the Turks. The period at which the three predatory corps are absent in spring, would also be highly favourable to the success of such an enterprize. The same thing, though under somewhat different auspices, having been achieved at Tunis, when the expedition of Charles V. appeared before the Goletta, is a proof that such a scheme is not impracticable.

The Janizaries are comparatively few in number at the above time; and not only less vigilant, but scattered about in the different quarters; while it may be very reasonably presumed, that any revolution which would tend to destroy their influence, must be hailed with infinite delight by the Moors. During the wretched night I passed in the bagnio, or *Bafios os Esclavos*, as they chuse to term it, the accomplishment of this arduous project, inflamed my mind to such a degree, that I almost forgot the chains which bound my limbs, in contemplating the certainty of becoming free, by its means. At a less sanguine moment, I felt the impossibility of yielding to slavery, and that death was a thousand times preferable: he who did not fear that, being capable of any enterprize, however daring or unlikely to succeed. Would it not be possible, I asked, for five or six hundred desperadoes to rush out, during a dark night, and having dispatched the guards, proceed to the other prisons; thence forming a compact body, dash on to the depôt of arms; and having surprized the sleeping soldiery, fire the city in different quarters, attack the Pascialick, seize the treasures of his highness, fly to the ships in the Mole, and during the general panic, set sail for Europe with recovered liberty, well-earned riches, and the glory of having performed a memorable action? On the second day, when conducted before the members of the government, assembled to decide the fate of myself and companions, its feasibility filled my thoughts with increased ardour; and while the tyrants were occupied in rivetting our chains, I was deeply immersed in devising the best means of breaking them for ever: nor was the pleasing reverie interrupted, until I heard my name repeated by the minister of marine; when, so strange did the illusion appear, that I felt as if detected in the grand crisis of a conspiracy.

Amongst other lessons received at Algiers, I was taught the extreme inutility of expecting much union amidst individuals of different nations; and still less that personal attachment which is necessary for ensuring the success of a desperate enterprize. There is, indeed, very little to be hoped from the exertions of people, who,

like the slaves in Algiers, are, with a few solitary exceptions, totally deprived of spirit or resolution, and bowed down by the weight of long suffering. Those who have been accustomed to adversity, are but too apt to relinquish hope, and feel incapable of ardent enterprize: yet I would have dared; and who knows the result?—Without the genius of Cervantes, my scheme was not a Quixotism; and, if unsuccessful, I might, at least, have repeated with him who attempted to conduct the chariot of the sun, *quem si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis.* On the other hand, a few hundred men, animated by the recollection of past wrongs, and inflamed with a desire of vengeance, might strike a great blow. Mahomet himself has said,—"Where a thousand men are resolutely united, they can always vanquish double the number." The slaves are numerous, and could do wonders, if more unanimous and properly directed. As observed by Alfieri,

Manca all' ardir Dei Più chi ardisca il primo!*

* It is almost needless to remind the reader, that these remarks were made previous to the liberation effected by Lord Exmouth, after the late attack on Algiers. And when the number of slaves there exceeded two thousand, those who have marked the subsequent proceedings of the barbarians, and know how little faith there is to be placed in the stability of our present relations with them, will not be displeased to see the insertion of any observations which may, on some future day, be applicable to a similar state of things, if more effectual measures are not speedily adopted to prevent it.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER XIX.

Military and Naval Power of the Barbary States.—TRIPOLY.—MOROCCO.—*Thoughts on the Views of the latter State.—Relations of the above States with* ALGIERS *and each other.—Origin of their Independence.—Influence of the* OTTOMAN PORTE *over the Barbarians.—Nature of its Relations with them.—Various Reflections on the Grand Seignor's Policy.—State of Political Relations between the Pirates and different European Governments.*

TRIPOLY, though so advantageously situated for carrying on an extensive trade with the interior of Africa, is governed by principles exactly similar to those which guide the Dey of Algiers; and if not equally powerful, is quite as hearty in the cause of pillage and depredation. The greatest number of troops which the Tripoline chief could bring into the field, cannot, I was credibly informed, exceed forty thousand men: his naval force consists of six or seven small ships and shabeques. These are said to be generally well manned, and commanded by very daring characters. The treatment experienced by Christian slaves at Tripoly, is in no respect less rigorous than that met with in Algiers.*

* The extreme dependence of Tripoly on Malta, with which it keeps up a constant communication, no less than the Bey's impotence as a sovereign, has of late rendered him unusually tractable; so that our relations with this regency are supposed to be of the most friendly description: and I have just heard, that His Majesty's ministers, animated by a very laudable zeal in the grand pursuit of African discovery, have sent out an enterprizing traveller, with the appointment of consul at Fezan, whose king has expressed a strong desire of receiving an English resident at his court. If true, this is a most important event, as connected with the progress of civilization; and when coupled with some very interesting communications, lately published in the Literary Gazette, relative to the Ashantee

The empire of Morocco is, however, by far the most formidable military power of Barbary, being capable of sending two hundred thousand men into the field, on any great emergency. These, if commanded by a different set of generals, would, no doubt, perform great things: as in the reign of Abdallah, who accepted the Spanish Duke de Ripperda's services, and by his means, organized a powerful force, on the European principle. Were it possible to unite the African governments in a defensive league, the Emperor of Morocco would no doubt take the lead; the circumstance of his being the lineal descendant of the Scerifs, giving him considerable influence all over the interior regions of Africa, with which the trade of Morocco has never been interrupted for many years. It is even supposed that some of the emperors have indulged the idea of re-establishing the western empire of Africa, such as it was under the Mogrebin race; but the project is infinitely more easy to conceive than execute; and a Moorish invading force, would take a greater number of days than is generally supposed by the politicians of Barbary, before it reached the walls of Algiers. A king of Spain, having asked the French ambassador how many days it required to go from the Pyrenees to Paris, was answered, that if the mere marching an army was only considered,

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country, near Sierra Leone, must prove a source of the highest gratification to the humane and philanthropic part of the community.

As connected with the great object of civilizing Africa, I am glad to have an opportunity of bearing my humble testimony of applause to the very meritorious efforts making by Dr. Thorpe, late chief justice at the above colony, whose publications teem with highly important information on the subject. This disinterested tribute of admiration, has no reference whatever to the differences which unhappily exist between the doctor and his political adversaries: these cannot be too deeply lamented, as doing incalculable injury to the paramount cause of humanity. If it be any consolation to Dr. T. I think I may safely assure him, that his very judicious proposals for the more effectual emancipation of our black, fellow-creatures, will be remembered with gratitude, when the little disputes which obscure the lustre of his benevolent labours are totally forgotten. For my own part, I shall never cease to regret, that so holy a cause as that professed by the doctor and his opponents, should ever be sullied by the slightest tincture of party zeal or personal animosity.—*Ed.*

twenty-four would be enough, but if his majesty meant fighting, no less than forty would be necessary.

The relations of the Barbary powers with each other, have hitherto been regulated by the purest motives of self-interest; and there is no doubt, but that if there was not so great a disparity between most of them, incessant war must be the consequence of such discordant beings, inhabiting the same continent; although their factitious harmony is of no advantage to Europe, whose commerce has, on the contrary, suffered more from the leisure of these marauders. Tunis and Algiers seem, however, to consider each other as natural enemies; for besides the causes of hostility already enumerated, they make a point of going to war, when nothing important occupies their attention on the high seas.

Recollecting the old proverb, and wishing to assume the saint, when the hour of danger lately arrived, his highness of Algiers sent ambassadors to Tunis, with a view of making peace, and soliciting the Bey's assistance to make common cause against the infidels. The latter was not, however, quite so zealous for the honour of the prophet, as his enemy anticipated; and having artfully eluded the question, hostilities have continued, though in so languid a manner, as to be hardly worthy the name of war. For, notwithstanding Tunis being declared in a state of blockade by the Algerine squadron, its ships are freely allowed to go in and out, as it may suit their convenience, without the least molestation. The war, which during Hamouda Basha's life, partook more of a personal quarrel between him and Ali Bey, than a national dispute, at present can only be considered as the means of giving employment to the turbulent, and keeping up long established custom.*

* It is now very generally believed, that all the Barbary states have come to an understanding, as to the best means of perpetuating the system of piracy, and affording mutual assistance in case of future attack. This is extremely desirable, as it will excite a corresponding degree of unanimity amongst those European sovereigns, for whom the honour of putting down the above system is reserved.—*Ed.*

Before the attack, propositions of an equally pressing nature, having been made to the court of Fez, the only satisfaction obtained from his imperial majesty of Morocco, was that of offering to receive and take care of the Dey's treasures at Mequinez; but declined every intention of marching to the relief of the Mahometan city. It is supposed, that these two powers are more closely united at present.

When the three regencies are at peace, we may safely conclude, that any power which is at war with one, suffers from the whole; as it is a favourite policy with the barbarians, to play into each other's hands, if I may be allowed the expression. If, for example, Tripoly should be at war with any European nation, numerous corsairs from Tunis and Algiers, assume the flag of that regency, and make reprisals under it: the government of Morocco has also lent itself to this nefarious fraud.

With regard to their relative nominal rank, the Bashaw of Tripoly is considered first in dignity; the Bey of Tunis comes next; and then follows the Dey of Algiers; who, though last in rank, is by far the richest and most powerful in a military point of view.

The titles of Dey, Pasha, and Bey, are frequently confounded; although all three really convey the same meaning, but have been adopted from caprice, or some particular circumstances arising from those revolutions which have led to their independence. Being originally dependent on the Ottoman Porte, the receiver-general of revenues having usurped the chief power in Algiers, was the first to declare himself free of foreign yoke, and then took the title of Dey. At Tunis, the military commander, who was originally styled Bey, assumed the reins of government, continuing his former title; while the Porte's governor and Pacha at Tripoly, soon followed the example of his neighbours, and pretends to be still more independent of foreign influence. Hence the origin of those titles which at present distinguish the respective chiefs of the regencies.

Nothing can present a greater anomaly in politics, than the

nominal power and influence of the Ottoman Porte over these self-created governments. Notwithstanding the indifference with which every order of the Sultan is received, and the little respect paid to Greek vessels belonging to his own dominions, each of the chiefs receive a species of investiture from him. On the Bey of Tunis ascending the throne, a superb caftan is sent by the Grand Seignor, who adds the title of Bashaw: this is proclaimed when the caftan is thrown over his shoulders, on the day of inauguration. On their parts, the Barbary chiefs find it convenient to manifest some outward signs of obsequiousness and submission to the Grand Padichaw of Estamboul. One of the motives of their apparent respect, arises from feeling the importance of being regarded as the viceroys and delegated representatives of the great sovereign of believers, and followers of Islam, the keeper and defender of the Caaba. At Algiers, they continue to call the Dey's palace Pascialick, where the council of state assembles, and the Janizaries are paid. The respective chiefs also preserve the title of Bassà in all their public acts: the reigning Sultan's name is struck on the coins; while public prayers are offered up in the mosques for his health and prosperity. Presents are often sent to Constantinople, particularly when they are in fear or danger. The Firmans, or instructions of the Sultan, are also received with the greatest seeming reverence and solemnity; applying it to the head and eyes, which is amongst them, a species of religious rite and homage paid to their imaginary master. It has sometimes happened, that the regencies have even assisted the Porte, when unusually pressed by foreign war, or internal division; and they have, on one or two occasions, rendered important services to it; as in the war which Hassan Bassà waged against the Mamelukes of Egypt, who had revolted against the Grand Seignor's authority; also at the siege of Acre and Ptolemais, where the Algerine squadron took a very active part. It was an Algerine soldier who killed Dacher, predecessor of the famous Djezzar Pacha, who governed Acre during Sir Sidney

Smith's gallant and memorable defence. All these demonstrations are, however, completely voluntary; conceded from a feeling of self-interest, to the reigning chief of Islamism; and can, therefore, only be regarded as mere matters of form. Whenever there was no immediate necessity for keeping up appearances with the Porte, the heads of the regencies have not found any difficulty in proving their perfect independence. This has been evinced by frequently turning away the Chiaux sent by the Sultan, without giving the smallest satisfaction to the representations which the latter may have been sent to make. Years have been suffered to elapse, without restoring cargoes taken from Turkish subjects; while many are condemned without the least ceremony on their arrival in Algiers. Preparations have often been made at Constantinople, to send the Captain Pacha with a fleet, for the purpose of chastising a refractory chief; but owing to the influence of bribes, or some intrigues of private agents, they have never yet been able to reach any of the Barbary ports: these delays, occasioned by previous temporizing, afford time to send a few presents, and some trifling excuses to the Sultan, who is of course obliged to be satisfied with those, whom he has not the power of punishing.

It should be observed, that the gradually decreasing power of the Ottoman Porte, and its apparent indifference to the political conduct of the Barbary states, seem to indicate a tacit acquiescence in their independence. This circumstance has not, however, tended to increase their power; nor can they now send out such numerous squadrons, as when the chiefs were also invested with commands in the sultan's navy.

If ever so well inclined, I doubt very much, whether it would now be in the Grand Seignor's power to bring the regencies back to submission. Unable to march an army over the Deserts of Barca, the Turkish fleet would hardly be equal to a bombardment in which an English one had some difficulty. In this case, a more powerful

engine than the sword, still remains to the Porte; that of appealing to the faithful, as the prophet's representative, and displaying the great standard amongst them. Thus, if the European powers are induced to look as passive spectators on the proceedings in northern Africa, negociations may be opened for the purpose of stimulating, or rather requiring, the Sultan to impose such restrictions on the Barbary chiefs, by diminishing the number of Janizaries, preventing the detention of Christians, and prohibiting any farther recruits from being enlisted in the Turkish states, with no other view than that of becoming legitimate robbers and assassins, whose only pursuit is rapine and violence. So far from having betrayed the smallest disposition to enforce such stipulations as these, which could alone afford a rational hope of amendment amongst the African marauders, the Porte appears to shew a degree of indifference with regard to their proceedings, upon which many might be induced to put a construction highly unfavourable to the policy of the Divan. During the late important events at Algiers, a perfect neutrality has been observed by the Porte; without, however, there being any possibility of discovering the Sultan's real thoughts on the subject of Great Britain's attack. It was not so with the Muzzelin, or Governor of Smyrna, who openly espoused the cause of the piratical city. Whatever authority he might have had for this conduct, it cost him his life, having been shortly after strangled by order of the Captain Pasha.

So ambiguous is the Sultan's policy, with respect to these powers, that during the recent nomination of governors, and other public officers usual at the feast of Bayram, the Barbary chiefs were, contrary to custom, not mentioned. Instead of the Sultan's reducing the number of independent chiefs, another very formidable one is soon likely to be found in Mehemet Pasha of Egypt; whose victories over the Wahabites, has given him unlimited influence all over that country. This prince seems, however, to be actuated by a much more enlightened policy than many of his competitors.

It is exceedingly difficult to convey any fixed notions of the political relations which exist between the Barbary states and Christian powers; as they are constantly changing according to the interest or caprice of the pirates. The recent shock experienced at Algiers, has struck a momentary panic into all the African chiefs; but it is evident, from a variety of circumstances, that the Dey is merely stifling his hatred until a force is re-organized, and the propitious moment of commencing fresh hostilities arrives. The conduct of the Bey of Tunis, is extremely suspicious, and his cruizers are even at sea. While the Emperor of Morocco has prohibited the Algerines and Tunisians from carrying their prizes into his ports, some of his own corsairs have scoured the seas in search of Russian and Danish ships!

The greatest part of the European governments keep consuls at Morocco and the different regencies, Russia and Austria excepted: these have none, because the Grand Seignor has been hitherto responsible for all aggressions committed against their flags. This is, however, a most ineffectual guarantee, and fraught with the greatest abuses; as I have seen natives of Triest, the emporium of Austrian commerce in the Adriatic, and others of Odessa in the Black Sea, who were continued in slavery, without being able to procure any reply whatever to their numerous memorials.

The situation of the consuls amongst these barbarous people is full of perils and anxiety. When war is declared against any power, the consul is thrown into chains: if they are too energetic and spirited, an application is made for their recall, or they are embarked on board a vessel and sent off. Sometimes, when there has been no other means of compromising a consul's character, they have caused a Mahometan female to be concealed in his garden; and thus succeeded in exciting a tumult against him by the people, when he is generally glad to save himself by flight.

A Barbary consul is respected in proportion to the naval power

of his country: during my stay, that of England was of course first on the list. Since the reduction of the French marine, the consul has enjoyed very little consideration compared to former times; although M. Dubois Thinville, the present representative of France in Algiers, possesses a very resolute mind, and great firmness of character.

It occurred to myself, that a most determined line of conduct, and haughty tone of expression, is by far more likely to impose on the governments of Barbary, and excite a degree of respect, than mildness and submission. The Dey having once told Mr. M'Donnel, he would send him off in one of his frigates, the latter replied: "If I go with a frigate, you shall see me return with two line of battle ships:" to this his highness rejoined, "remain: we are friends." On another occasion there was an English captain, named Smith, who had a dispute with the Grand Rais, and offered to go out, and wait with his single frigate, for the whole squadron: this led to an *amende honorable*, on the part of the Algerine. When, however, you prevail on any of these people to give in, they cannot bear to be suspected of having ceded out of fear, or from being in the wrong. Prudence and magnanimity are invariably the source of action with them! When a consul fumes and storms a little too much, they exclaim, "Poor man, he's mad!"

As every rule has its occasional exception, it does not always answer to be too high with the barbarians. They are generally proud, passionate, and haughty. Some, during these excesses called *fantasias*, or paroxysms of passion, are capable of the most desperate acts of violence. In treating with the government, it should also be recollected, that its members are ever happy to have an excuse for declaring war, as continued friendship never enters into their political creed. On the contrary, they always affect to despise the amicable relations of a Christian power. One day, his highness having had a violent dispute with the Spanish consul, relative to a large sum, which the latter's government did not seem disposed to pay,

suddenly dismissed him, saying, "If your king does not wish for peace, let him have war: it will give me pleasure." To the consul of a northern sovereign he was more explicit, observing, "What do I want of your king? He sends me presents, and I send him nothing: he buys my friendship, and I don't care a straw for his!"*

* The events of the last two years, during which scarcely a week has passed without the public papers having to announce some new aggression on the part of the Barbary corsairs, will not tend to diminish the reader's faith in the accuracy of the author's remarks.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER XX.

Departure from ALGIERS.—*Feelings on quitting Companions in Misfortunes.—Passage to* MINORCA.—*Arrival at* PORT MAHON.—*Entrance into the Lazzaretto.—Anecdote of a modern Traveller.—Theatrical Scenes.—Liberal Conduct of an English Consul.—Some Account of* MINORCA, *and those with whom the Author became acquainted there.—Sir Sidney Smith.—Embarks on board an English Ship.—Passage to Sicily, and Arrival in Palermo.—Various Reflections on the Civil and Political State of the above Island.—Notice of its most distinguished Noblesse, and Literary Characters.—Departure from Sicily.—Reflections during the Voyage.—The Arrival at Ponza, together with some Account of that Island.—Return to* TUSCANY, *and Reflections suggested by it.*

HAVING arrived at the joyful term of my ill-fated visit to the piratical city, I took my leave of the generous British consul, to whom we had been indebted for so many kindnesses, and together with the Chevalier Rossi and family, embarked on board a small vessel belonging to the Spanish consul, but bearing the Algerine flag, with which we were enabled to pass free of every insult, and respected by all the world; Algiers being at this time the great naval power of the Mediterranean!

But with what feelings of regret did not the companions of our capture hear of the event which was about to separate us, and how painful for ourselves thus to leave them! We had scarcely arrived on board the vessel, when a pisquet of Turkish soldiers came to see if some slave had not concealed himself, and to prevent the

possibility of such a circumstance. At this moment one of the Sicilian's crew, who contrived to steal a few minutes from his daily labour, had got up on an adjoining wall to charge us with a message to his family, when a voice of thunder ordered him to descend; this was followed by the arrival of a keeper, who striking him violently on the head, he instantly fell off the wall, and we saw no more of him. Such was the last scene which struck my sight, and made my heart bleed in the abode of pirates!

The anchor was weighed, and though wind and sea were completely against us, it became absolutely necessary to sail, such was the inexorable will of his highness. After an ineffectual struggle of several hours against the elements, we were obliged to bear up again towards the shore; the sea was agitated, but not more than our own minds, for some persons on board thought the Dey would order the guns from one of the forts to play on us for attempting to return, or send the captain of the port off to force immediate compliance with his wishes. After passing a most wretched and weary night, the sun rose with very little alteration in the weather: we had, however, dropped anchor near the city, and as daylight increased, we heard the confused noise of the inhabitants as they began to move about the town, and were destined once more to see the slaves descend to resume their task at the Mole: it was reserved for us to take leave a second time of the melancholy sight of Christians dragging their chains along, realizing to our perturbed imaginations, that which the poet said of Tartarus:

Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare
Verbera: tum stridor ferri, tractæque catenæ!*

One of the Dey's corsairs having got under weigh, seemed to be steering towards us, when the wind suddenly changing, we hove up our anchor, and made sail towards the north, and were soon

* From hence are heard the groans of men, the pains
Of sounding lashes, and of dragging chains.
ÆNEIS, B. VI.

wafted to a considerable distance from the coast; nor was it without sentiments of inward horror, that we took a last adieu of the forts of the Marina, minarets of the mosques, and lofty towers of the Pascialick: we regarded the inhospitable region like the seaman, who, after having escaped from shipwreck, looks with fear and trembling on the treacherous element—

E come quei, che con lena affannata,
Uscendo fuor del pelago alla riva,
Si volge all' acqua perigliosa, e guata.*

Having gained a respectable distance from the Algerine shore, we occasionally took an opportunity, when the Moorish sailors were not within hearing, of relieving our minds by muttering many hearty philippics and imprecations against the Dey, and some of his ministers. I doubt whether the orator of Tusculum was ever half so eloquent, as we became in these moments of hateful inspiration. A person who had paid a visit to one with whom he was not on the most harmonious terms in the world, exclaimed: "He certainly gave it to me pretty well; but I paid him back in his own coin!" One of my countrymen, who was obliged to leave London on account of the alien regulations, turning towards the coast when on his passage to France, cried: "I am going; but when I get to Italy, I'll compose such a sonnet against this said England, as shall make it sink into the very ocean!" We also determined to whet out tongues, when once on shore, and often said, Woe to his highness, the Rais, and Aga Baston, they shall soon hide their diminished heads! In retaliating on the barbarians, I was obliged to follow the example of a quaker, who, when bit by a dog, did not resent it, but was satisfied with crying out, "a mad dog! a mad dog!" by which the unfortunate animal was soon stoned to death. What else is to be done with

* Then, like a toil-worn mariner I stood,
Who newly scap'd the perils of the flood,
Turns him again the danger to behold.
BOYD'S DANTE.

the pirates of Africa, who did not even leave myself or companions a single comfort, but indiscriminately plundered us of all we possessed? Great animals crush and devour, while insects can only sting.

After four days of a tolerably tranquil navigation, we arrived in sight of Minorca. Although it is sometimes difficult to enter Port Mahon, yet when once inside, there is not a more secure or beautiful harbour in Europe: it is like being in a narrow lake, sheltered on each side by a range of hills; and in which ships of a hundred and twenty guns can lay moored, almost touching the shore: the highest winds seem to exercise no influence in this fine port; for soon after our anchoring, a most violent storm arose; and though we plainly heard the waves dashing over the ramparts which defend the entrance, there was scarcely an undulation seen in the harbour.

Pursuant to the quarantine laws, we were condemned to enter the Lazzaretto, and remain there for twenty-two days: this was, I confess, a great trial of patience, and no trifling source of *ennui;* but reading and writing enabled me to obviate many inconveniences, which must have otherwise arisen from this tiresome ceremony. It was here, that after several months of painful anxiety, I was first enabled to collect my scattered thoughts, occupying most of the time in arranging the materials of this very imperfect narration of my forced visit to the grand focus of piracy. It was, on the one hand, fortunate that I remained so short a time; but reflecting on the nature of this undertaking, I ought certainly to regret not having had more leisure, and greater facility of research. Notwithstanding all these considerations, I will not become either my own critic or accuser; for every one knows, that a person may be long resident in a strange country, without moving beyond the immediate precincts of his house; other travellers have the merit of seeing much, but observing little; while a third class of tourists stare at every object, for the mere sake of exercising a large pair of blearing eyes, insensible alike to instruction and amusement. A prating traveller, whose incessant

repetition and prolixity, were rendered still more insupportable by a French pronunciation, which very much resembled the notes of a capon; engrossing all the conversation of a large company, with the recapitulation of his adventures, the dinners he had eaten, and his flattering reception at the different courts of Europe, concluded by saying, in his barbarous idiom, *J'ai été un âne à Londres, un âne à Paris, un âne à Vienne, un âne à Berlin.* A lady who was present, and perfectly worn out by his pedantry and bombast, interrupted the remainder of his interesting story, by observing, *On voit bien, Monsieur, que vous avez été un âne partout.*

Without the obtrusive ambition of this modern Anacharsis, I shall be most happy, should the present memoirs, deprived as they are of those fascinations which distinguish more popular productions, be of some trifling public utility; and it does not happen to me, as to a tourist, who was so much pleased with repeating the history of his erratic adventures, that he no sooner opened his mouth, than the auditors contended with each other who should gain the door first: this gave rise to a person's observing, " that his descriptions were so animating, as to inspire every one who heard them with an inclination to *travel!*"

With all its tedium, the Lazzaretto was not entirely destitute of recreation and amusement. The British Mediterranean fleet, under Sir Edward Pellew, now Lord Exmouth, was anchored not far from us; and it was impossible to witness a more splendid naval armament. Together with several seventy-fours and frigates, there were five immense three-deckers; the port was constantly covered with small vessels and boats, exhibiting a scene of the utmost animation; music seemed to be the principal source of amusement on board the English fleet. The morning and evening gun, accompanied by a volley of musketry from each ship, produced a grand effect, when echoed through the surrounding heights, though it might not have been quite so agreeable to some drowsy listeners: but as I happened to have formerly lived for twelve long months next door to a convent of Capuchin friars,

my rest was not so very easily disturbed. Besides the *réveille* played by drums and fifes, at day-light, there was a military symphony every evening after sun-set: this, performed in reciprocal responses by the different ships, and associated with a serene sky, and the stillness of the sea, really seemed to partake of magical illusion.

If the above could be called an orchestra, its counterpart might be found in another grand spectacle, which was of a much more theatrical nature. For this unexpected treat, we were indebted to a troop of Italian players and dancers, who daily favoured the surrounding crews with exhibitions of the most noisy magnificence; and with the assistance of tinsel, rosin, and a few sheets of tin, were enabled to produce the sublimest phenomena of nature.

To the amusing exertions of the strolling players, was added another curious scene of the tragi-comic cast, in which the only performer was an English official gentleman; unlike all his countrymen, who vied with each other in friendly attentions to myself and companions ever since our capture. This dignitary treated us with the rigour of a Boulouc Basha, or Aga of Gigeri. We merely solicited a trifling accommodation, calculated to facilitate our landing in Sicily. This furnished the above philanthropist with an opportunity which he was unwilling to lose, that of talking big, skipping about like a he-goat, and absolutely disclaiming every idea of serving us poor devils, on the very *probable* plea of our being subjects of Buonaparté, perhaps spies sent to betray the island into the enemy's hands, or the still more important purpose of burning the fleet! During a discourse, in which verbs, articles, and prepositions were sadly jumbled together, I could only distinguish "Tuscany! French! Buonaparte! Algiers! Fire! Treason! No Friends! War! War! War!" Such were the flattering sentiments thundered forth by this worthy representative of a great nation, who seemed ready to eat us all with a grain of salt. Having suffered the whirlwind of his passion to pass by, I took the liberty of suggesting to his *excellency*, that whatever our nation might be, or the political vicissitudes it had experienced, it

was necessary to enquire into our principles and conduct; nor were the misfortunes we had lately experienced, altogether unworthy of compassion. *Res sacra miser!* Such was the sentiment which had, until now, been manifested towards us by all those consuls and other Europeans, who interested themselves for us in Algiers. He answered, that pity might be a very useful thing in Africa, but was of no value whatever in Europe, where hearts of brass were much more necessary. "Justice, and not pity!" exclaimed the magnanimous diplomatist, turning round and placing himself in the attitude of an opera chief. This was followed by several other fine tirades about sympathy, until all those who were present began to think himself a very fit object of commiseration. I vainly endeavoured to impress on his mind, that having left England with regular passports, and received all the requisite papers at Algiers, nothing more was necessary than for him to certify that we were detained in the Lazzaretto of Minorca, which might have prevented another quarantine in Sicily. These and various other efforts to persuade the gentleman, were completely thrown away; and after the proper number of official bows were exchanged, he took his leave, without being regretted by any of the party.*

The town of Port Mahon is extremely well built, and much more like an Italian than a Spanish city: even our language is spoken by many of the inhabitants in preference to that of Spain. The for-

* This is not the first time, that the object of these remarks has been pointed out as a beacon for others to avoid. Having taken the liberty of suggesting the impolicy of extending patronage to such people, in p. 221, Vol. II. of my Letters on Tunis, it is not a little singular, that the same person should have thus committed the national character with a few unfortunate foreigners, several years after I had pointed persons of his description out, as calculated to render the greatest injury to that high character, which it is our interest to maintain with other nations. Although many subsequent events, and more particularly what came under my own observation while in Italy, proves that our consular system has experienced no very material improvement, I venture once more to assert, that the subject is well worthy a patriotic minister's consideration, both as it regards politics and commerce.—*Ed.*

tifications are by no means so strong, as when attacked by the Duke de Richelieu in 1756; after which, the principal forts were demolished previous to the island's subsequent evacuation by the French forces. Port Mahon had, since the Spanish revolution in 1808, become the great rendezvous of the British fleet employed at the blockade of Toulon.* Minorca, and the other Balearic islands, were the only parts of the Spanish monarchy which the devastating torrent of war did not overtake during the late struggle. Although deprived of trees, and possessing a rocky soil, this island yields large quantities of good wine; and its surrounding coast abounds in excellent fish. Little, however, can be said in praise of the amusements of Port Mahon, and not much for its society. But we had no occasion to complain of this, as during our confinement in the Lazzaretto, several highly respectable individuals paid us every attention in their power. When relieved from quarantine, I had the honour of paying my respects to the Duchess Dowager of Orleans, who had selected a retreat in Minorca, during the days of exile and adversity. Supporting both with the most heroic fortitude, her grace was attended by the Chevalier Defermont, formerly a distinguished member of the constituent assembly; and who might justly be cited as a model of loyalty and honour.

But the most important introduction, during my short stay at this place, was to the celebrated Sir Sidney Smith, second in command of the English blockading fleet. The muse of history has already recorded this officer's brilliant exploits in various parts of the world; but more particularly his memorable defence of St. Jean d'Acre, and

* Should the approaching congress at Frankfort decide on a combined plan for subduing and eventually colonizing northern Africa, this island will of course be one of the grand points of concentration, for which it is admirably calculated: in that case, Minorca might, with great propriety, be ceded to the power who shall undertake the subjugation of Algiers: its value is completely thrown away on Spain; whereas the island's absolute possession, would be necessary to any European sovereign who had garrisons on the opposite coast of Africa.—*Ed.*

other enterprizes on the coast of Syria. The genius of humanity will consecrate his name amongst the heroic benefactors of mankind, for he possesses that glory, which can alone shed a real lustre on great actions, and more than compensates the little-minded jealousy of his less gifted contemporaries. To a dignified figure, and commanding physiognomy, polite manners, and fascinating address, this gallant officer united an air of romantic chivalry, which impressed me with an idea, that I was addressing one of those valiant knights of former days, in whom the ardent spirit of dauntless enterprize and amiable gallantry, was heightened by the exercise of humanity and virtue. Sir Sidney heard the recital of our sufferings with a deep and lively interest. Judging from its animating effect on his countenance, and the generous solicitude with which he sympathized in our late misfortunes, I feel an inward pride in flattering myself, that we contributed in some small degree to inflame that ardour, which he has since so generously exerted in stimulating the powers of Europe to redress the wrongs it has sustained, by punishing the guilty hordes of Barbary, and terminating the slavery of Christians.

Madame du Barry, mistress to Louis XV. having requested a guard of honour for her palace, which the Duke de Choiseul refused, she contrived to procure it from a higher quarter; and being one night engaged in a whist party with the above minister, they had gained eight points, and were consequently allowed to call the honours, three of which fell to Madame du B. in the following deal: throwing them down, she turned to her partner, and archly said; "My lord duke, I have got the honours without you." So it was with ourselves, who, notwithstanding the diplomatist's want of charity, were, through the kindness of Lord Exmouth and Sir Sidney Smith, not only provided with all the papers necessary for our landing in Sicily, but even ordered a passage free of all expence, on board a transport, and one of the convoy about to sail for that island. Amongst the passengers, we had the satisfaction of meeting Mr. Oglander, the very intelligent

British consul at Tunis; who, together with his amiable lady, were on their way to the African city.

It is extremely consoling for a landsman to sail in company with large convoys; which being in sight of each other, and steering the same course, give great animation to the watery element, while they seem to insure mutual assistance in the hour of danger. Frequently occupied in surveying the various movements of the shipping, and admiring the order preserved by the naval commander appointed to conduct the convoy, we could not help calling to mind the fatal obstinacy of the Sicilian captain, who, in rejecting the often repeated advice of every one on board, led to a disaster which cost us all so very dearly.

After four days of fair wind, and most propitious navigation, we arrived at Palermo, the port of our first destination; and to gain which so many perils and disasters had been encountered:—

Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum!

Landing in the beautiful capital of Sicily, nothing could exceed the joy we experienced, on contrasting our present situation with past sufferings, and reflecting on the difference of living amongst the ferocious savages of Africa, and being received with the hospitality which the companions of Æneas met with in the kingdom of Acestes, by the fervid and animated inhabitants of Palermo.

Sicily is both rich and fertile, though by no means so highly favoured as it might be, if better governed, more populous, and commerce was facilitated by roads and canals, of which the island is totally destitute. So various have been the vicissitudes of this fine country, that a Roman traveller once exclaimed: *In uberrima Siciliæ parte Siciliam quærebam!* It is equally difficult to trace its ancient grandeur or fertility in the island's present degraded condition; in wandering over the once celebrated Trinacria, the poet's theme, and historian's praise. It is with difficulty a traveller can trace the position of many

renowned cities, or find any remains of such flourishing places as Syracuse, Agrigentum, Selinuntæ, Gela, or Heraclea.

During my residence in Sicily, almost three years ago, there seemed to be a serious intention of ameliorating the island's situation, or more properly speaking, of developing its natural means of prosperity. It was proposed to open roads of communication between the different provinces; they talked of establishing barriers for the collection of a toll to keep the roads in repair: several important and salutary legislative and financial reforms were projected; many abuses, such as suppressing torture, and the *damúsa*, rights of *angaria* or feudal tyrannies, were to be abolished, together with innumerable other barbarous customs handed down by their gothic ancestors of former days. The entire execution of these noble designs appeared to interest the whole population, and was stimulated by the eloquence of several patriotic and enlightened individuals. Sicily, at the above period, presented a new and highly interesting spectacle: it might be said to be the only country of Europe, which had not experienced the horrors of war, and foreign invasion. In that sea of troubles and of sorrow which had inundated the finest part of the globe, the Sicilian vessel of state seemed to have exclusively weathered the storm. Sicily was, in fact, when compared to other continental countries, a brilliant star shining forth amidst surrounding darkness. This fine island, owing to the privileges and immunities obtained under Ruggiero, Frederic the Second, and Charles the Third, might be said virtually to possess a constitution, parliament, and national representation. Recurring to the existence of freedom, of which the long continued exertion of arbitrary power had bereft them, a patriotic ministry were anxious to restore the people's lost rights, stamping them with the seal of the British constitution, the most perfect model of legislative wisdom in the universe, which, *ponderibus librata suis*, legalizes, consecrates, and establishes the rational liberty of the subject, and supreme authority of the monarch.

In having already commenced this grand design, Sicily

exhibited to Europe the rare example of a legitimate government, listening to the voice of complaint, and carrying reform into effect, without destroying or subverting: animated by philanthropic zeal, and genuine patriotism, they sought for liberty, and not licentiousness. The Sicilian representatives, while permitted to assemble, knew how to claim the birth-right of their constituents, without having recourse to war, discord, or revolution. The enlightened partizans of monarchical forms, of which the parliament of Sicily was composed, were alive to the duties of their charge, and felt all the importance of their public character: and what can be a more dignified office than that of watching over the rights of a whole people? "Do you know," said the French ambassador to a deputy of the little republic of Geneva, "that I have the honour of representing the king my master?" "Yes; and do you know that I have the honour of representing my equals," replied the deputy. "There is," said the immortal Lord Chatham, "one glory far above all others, and which I will only resign with my life,—that of transmitting to posterity, the sacred rights of liberty which I have received from Heaven, and the defence of which is commanded by the people who honour me with their confidence."

Such was the state of Sicily when I was there: those changes, retractions, modifications, and alterations, which the new circumstances of Europe, increased wisdom of the government, desires, wants, and wishes of the people may have suggested, do not enter into the object of my narrative, which refers to a fixed epocha. I neither know what has been done, nor the precise intentions of his Neapolitan majesty, with respect to the island's future fate. These are no concerns of mine, who am simply bent on relating the particulars of my voyage. I hope, however, that all will be done with a spirit of order, wisdom and benevolence, suited to the fearful exigencies of the times, and character of a liberal government. I trust that where so many facilities present themselves to the ministers of Ferdinand the Fourth, the country of Empedocles, of Theocritus, and Archimedes, is yet destined

to see a little of its former splendor revived, together with that felicity enjoyed under the beloved Hiero. I am also firmly of opinion that these desirable ends will be most easily attained, by adhering as closely as possible to that envied constitution, which forms the pride and prosperity of the British empire, of the French, Swedes, Belgians, and Batavians. A great man has prophetically observed, "weak princes wait till their people give liberty to themselves; while good and magnanimous ones, anticipate their wishes!"*

After a residence of some months in Palermo, during which I was honoured by the acquaintance of many noble families, and distinguished literary characters, whose united attentions and numerous acts of kindness, I shall ever recollect with the warmest gratitude, the extraordinary changes which had recently occurred in Europe, enabled me to think of returning homewards; and I accordingly embarked on board a Sicilian vessel bound to Leghorn; and in which I had the good fortune of meeting two Sicilian noblemen, Prince Villafranca, and Valguarnera, who were proceeding to make a tour on the continent. It was soon easy to discover, that I could not have met with more agreeable society; and notwithstanding the disparity of rank which placed me so far below these distinguished characters, their ingenuous affability, and gentlemanly politeness, soon proved them to belong to that class, of which Catullus has said, "those who know them to-day, will love them; and those who love them once will always do so!"

* The author's hopes have in common with, those of many others, been woefully disappointed; and if the accounts received during my visit to Rome last year are to be credited, the general state of Sicily is altered rather for the worse than otherwise. It is, however, but justice to add, that Prince D'Aci, of whose public character I gave my opinion, when in deep disgrace with the Sicilian government, has since his administration of the Pretorship at Palermo, more than justified my idea of his talents, and far exceeded the anticipations of his greatest admirers. I have collected some valuable materials relative to the political transactions of the island, since the publication of my Letters, and shall take another opportunity of laying them before the public.—*Ed.*

This voyage had also an additional charm: it promised to be the last of an eventful course of wandering, and after many years of agitation, conduct me to repose. My former way of living and going about, seemed to realize the old adage, that life itself is only a voyage. But it is still a very doubtful question, whether we enjoy, or suffer more. In wandering through this vale of tears, the traveller visits unknown shores and inhospitable regions; he hears a foreign language of which he is ignorant, and cannot embrace his friends. If he begins to feel attached to any particular spot, something occurs which obliges him to change his position. *On quitte un pays sans qu'on vous regrette, on va dans un autre, sans qu'on vous attend;* we change the country, but lassitude follows, and keeps pace with our progress. One is always exposed to meeting greedy impostors, robbers in the woods, or pirates on the seas; we fall a prey to disease, without having a friend to lend a helping hand, and not a tear is shed over our solitary grave!

Prince Potemkin had a courier under his immediate orders, named Baver; who was constantly employed travelling post, to execute the commissions of his master: he was at one time sent into Germany, to search for new colonies to people the Crimea; at another, he went to Paris for an opera-dancer; he was next started off to Poland, with letters to the partizans of Russia; then to Astracan, to get grapes for the empress's table. Baver, foreseeing that in the course of his journies, he would sooner or later break his neck, was determined to be remembered after death; and for this purpose, requested a French poet at the court of St. Petersburgh to compose an epitaph for him: to this the latter acceded, and shortly presented him with the following:

Ci git Baver sous ce rocher
Fouet, Cocher!

If the wanderer succeeds in escaping the perils which environ him while travelling, and, after many years, returns to his country; not

a single acquaintance is left to welcome his return. He asks for the friends of his youth: they are no more! And the calamities of many years are communicated in a single day. The returned exile no longer sees the mirthful gaiety of early life: every thing seems to have undergone a melancholy alteration. It is himself who has changed: the animated glow of boyhood has ceased; and he may be compared to an old man, who very ingeniously asked, whether people still continued to love in the world? Those, who do not quit their household gods, observe, without surprize, the slow operations of time, which imperceptibly changes every thing around them. He is by far the happiest, who, a stranger to *ennui*, and that inquietude of soul, which proves the mind ill at ease with itself, does not suffer his desires or curiosity, to wander beyond the horizon which surrounds him; and observes life, like a tranquil stream, passing between the banks which saw it rise. "Happy!" says Atalà, the daughter of an exile; "happy are those who have not seen the smoke of the stranger's banquet, and who have only sat at the feasts of their fathers!"

On the day after our leaving Palermo, we saw one of those singular phenomena, called water-spouts; which are very frequent in the Mediterranean. This gave a dreadfully gloomy aspect to the heavens, and there being every appearance of an approaching storm, the master of the vessel was, in consequence of the amiable Princess Villa Franca's peculiar situation, induced to bear up for the Island of Ponza.

This spot had been, for some time, occupied by a small British military force, and served as an important point to facilitate communications with the continent, as well as to disseminate manufactures and colonial produce, in spite of the tyrannical decrees of Milan and Berlin. The English had even built a handsome church, added to the suburbs, and began to enrich the island, which is naturally barren and unproductive. Some of the natives conducted us to see an old Roman way, cut through the solid rock; also an immense reservoir, now full of salt water, but which is called the bath of Pontius

Pilate; who was born at Ponza, and died there in prison, after his removal from the government of Jerusalem. This was, probably, a Saracenic work, and executed during the period at which these early conquerors had possessed themselves of nearly all the Mediterranean islands.

Ponza was the Roman colony, to which Tiberius sent Nero for the purpose of starving him to death; it also furnished Caligula with a place of exile for his two sisters.

Close to the above island, there is a smaller one, called Ventoniana; said to have been originally thrown up by a volcano, like Santorini in the Archipelago. This was the ancient Pandataria, and reserved by the emperors as a place of exile for persons of the highest distinction. Julia, the beautiful daughter of Augustus, was confined there, accompanied by her mother Scribonia, whose maternal tenderness would not admit of separation from the ill-fated object of her husband's persecution. After ten years of a miserable existence on this desolate rock, the unhappy Julia was conducted to the coast of Reggio, where she terminated a life of suffering and grief. Having served as the ignominious retreat of Julia, it became the abode of her more chaste and virtuous daughter Agrippina. The untainted reputation of this excellent woman, united to the memory of Germanicus, rendered herself and sons the great objects of veneration and hope to the Roman people, and consequently of hatred to the guilty Tiberius. The tyrant caused the two young princes to be assassinated, and sent their mother to perish in Pandataria. Nero, led on by the sanguinary Poppeia, banished his wife Octavia to the same place; where she, in a short time, shared the fate of her predecessors.

What condition indeed can be so melancholy as that of a human being banished from his country, and obliged to wander amongst strangers,

Diversa exilia et desertas quarærere terras?*

* To seek in foreign lands, a happier home.

The wretched daughters of Judea, driven from the fertile banks and smiling vallies of Jordan, suspended their silent harps on the drooping willows of Babylon, and with reason exclaimed—

But we must wander witheringly
In other lands to die;
And where our fathers' ashes be,
Our own may never lie:
Our temple hath not left a stone,
And mockery sits on Salem's throne!*

One would imagine, says the eloquent author of Corinna, that Dante, so long banished from his country, had carried all the horrors of exile into the regions of darkness. His airy shadows are making constant enquiries after those whom they left in more substantial existence; and regarding the Inferno as another banishment, one of the poet's first cares is to ask after the state of his beloved, though ungrateful country.

Sailing from Ponza, when the weather became more settled, a fine easterly wind soon wafted us along the coast of Rome; and passing through the strait which separates Elba from Piombino, the lofty heights of Montereno appeared, and a few hours more saw me landed in Tuscany!

Oh come lunghi e gravi
Son due lustri vissuti in strania terra,
Lungi da quanto si ama! Oh, quanto è dolce
Ripatriar dopo gli affanni tanti
Di sanguinosa guerra! Oh, vero porto
Di tutta pace, esser tra suoi!†

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* What a pity that Lord Byron should have consigned such exquisite poetry as his Hebrew Melodies, to the bungling and heartless compositions of Messrs. Braham and Nathan.—*Ed.*

† How long and tedious do those years appear,
Spent in a foreign country, far from all
The heart holds dear! With what profound delight,
After the labours of a bloody war shall I repose?
Oh home, beloved asylum,
Where peace alone awaits us, with what joy,
Do I revisit thee! LLOYD'S ALFIERI.

On the banks of the Rhine, Thames, and Ebro; amongst the romantic solitudes of Wales, and towering heights which resounded to the notes of Ossian's harp; under the cloudy skies of the Orcades, or in the hospitable tent of the Bedouin, the traveller's country is ever present to his thoughts, and excites the tenderest emotions of his heart. The wandering Swiss is cheered by chaunting his *randes vashes;* while the Scottish mountaineer sighs for his heath-grown hills and wintry torrents. The sooty inhabitant of Congo boasts his golden sands and palm-wine. The squalid native of Labrador praises his smoky hovel, and the Patagonian savage delights to dwell in his native wilds—

> Such is the patriot's boast, where'er we roam,
> Our first, best country, ever is at home!

The gods have an Olympus, and man his country; but where could I have found one so worthy of being recollected or esteemed, as my own?

The present generation had waded through all the sad gradations of tumult and revolution; but it was a high source of gratification to find that my countrymen had not lost those amiable manners, urbanity of character, and warm enthusiasm for letters, and the fine arts, which have so long distinguished them from many other nations of the world. Above all, I was pleased to see the gratitude evinced towards that prince of the house of Austria, who had wisely governed them; and during the most tempestuous changes, while oppressed by foreign force, never ceased to wish for his return. The Grand Duke Ferdinand answered all the anticipations of his affectionate subjects. It was left for the people to chuse their own code of laws, while the throne was surrounded with men of talents and virtue: these, only intent on promoting the public good, were consequently honoured with the entire approbation and unlimited confidence of the people. A prince who knows how to govern, and possesses the talent of wisely selecting his ministers, will ever be obeyed, and called back with transport, if driven from his throne. The virtuous President Nicolai

used to say, "I thank Heaven for giving me birth in Tuscany, under such a government; and for having imposed the obligation of obeying those whom it is impossible not to love!"

After many years of agitation and tempests, the rainbow of peace had at length shed its resplendence over the earth, and nations were destined to be re-established on their ancient bases. As observed by an eastern poet, having exhausted all their fury, the waters of the great sea became smooth: such are the agitations of this world and their tranquil oblivion!*

* These allusions to the well merited popularity of the reigning Grand Duke of Tuscany, have suggested a few cursory thoughts on that highly favoured country, as well as the general state of Italy, which form a note at the end of this volume.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER XXI.

Recent Conduct and new Insults of the Barbary Powers.—Negociations of Lord Exmouth, and General Sir Thomas Maitland.—Bombardment of ALGIERS.—*Submission of the Dey.—Observations on the Treaties lately made between the European Powers and Barbary States.—Remarks on the Conduct of Great Britain, compared with that of other Governments.—Singular Enigma.—Reflections suggested by it.—Necessity of taking greater Precautions than those already adopted.—How far we are justified in relying on the Faith of Treaties.—Morality of a Barbary Chief.—His Motto.—Actual Disposition of these Powers, manifested by their general Conduct.*

SCARCELY had Europe began to breathe from the toils of a destructive war, and nations indulged in the pleasing anticipation of a solid and lasting peace, when the freedom of the seas and commerce were assailed in every direction by the corsairs of Barbary, whose chiefs considered this, as above all others, the most favourable epoch for a general attack on all those states who did not possess a navy to keep them in check, or were so remote as to encourage a hope that their depredations might be tolerated with impunity. Soon after the peace of 1814, the cruizers of Morocco and Tunis, which had been for some time much less active than their neighbours, went to sea in search of plunder; while the Algerine squadron increased to a larger number of ships than it had for a century before: these marauders, assisted by the co-operation of Tripoly, made several descents on various parts of the Italian coast, Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, and all the other islands of the Mediterranean, carrying off or destroying whatever came within their reach, and conducting the unfortunate

inhabitants, without regard to age or sex, into slavery. The pirates had even audacity enough to insult the British flag, which gave rise to Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor of Malta, proceeding to obtain redress at Tunis; while Lord Exmouth went to Algiers for a similar purpose. These officers were enabled to procure temporary satisfaction; and several slaves were ransomed through their interference, at a lower rate than had been hitherto demanded.

Notwithstanding the apparent moderation observed by the barbarians, while the negociations were going on, there was not much difficulty in perceiving that all was the result of their characteristic deceit, the better to cover designs of future aggression. Algiers took the lead; and shortly after the treaty, manifested evident intentions to renew her depredations whenever a favourable opportunity occurred. Besides various efforts to recruit his army, and add to the naval forces of the regency, the Dey began to correspond with the Porte, the Emperor of Morocco, and Pacha of Egypt. While the English negociator was still at Algiers, the Janizaries are even said to have deliberated on the propriety of cutting him to pieces, when passing from the Pascialick to his boat; and Lord Exmouth had not arrived in England on his return from the piratical city, when a swarm of corsairs once more infested the seas. The British consul was seized, and thrown into prison at Algiers; and Captain Dashwood, who commanded a ship of war in the bay, was treated in the most violent manner by the Turks: his surgeon, who attempted to embark Mr. Mc Donnel's wife and daughter, experienced a still harsher treatment.

Several atrocities were committed at Oran; and as if something was wanting to complete the work of iniquity, above two hundred coral fishermen, natives of Corsica, Sicily, and Sardinia, were inhumanly butchered in cold blood, at Bona.*

* This dreadful massacre took place on May the 31st, 1816, about twelve o'clock in the day, when the poor coral fishers were at prayers. The slaughter was regularly planned at Algiers, and commenced by a signal from the principal fort at Bona. Indeed there is scarcely

Awakened by such reiterated acts of violence, the British lion at length began to shake the dew-drops from its mane, and the ministers of England determined to avenge the honour of its flag, violated by repeatedly broken promises, and above all, the shocking affair at Bona. A formidable armament was therefore immediately fitted out, and Lord Exmouth being appointed to the chief command, was destined to prove, that impunity was not always to be the result of violence. In addition to the ships of war, the expedition was provided with a large quantity of those destructive engines, called Shrapnel shells and Congreve rockets. Omar Basha, the reigning Dey, seemed, on his side, to meet the coming storm with corresponding energy; and judging from his preparations to resist the attack, he evidently calculated on a desperate struggle. The fortifications had undergone considerable repairs; several new batteries were mounted; and thirty thousand Moors and Arabs were joined to the Turkish soldiery. Previous to the appearance of the English squadron, Omar

a more atrocious or sanguinary outrage on record; and I very much doubt whether the celebrated Crusades, in the course of which so many hundred thousand human lives were sacrificed, had so legitimate a cause as this furnished to Europe for subjugating the piratical states. With respect to the coral fishery, the subject has occupied my attention for several years; and I have made every possible exertion to shew that it might have been rendered a source of some profit to this country. The massacre at Bona proves the necessity of some European power having a place near the banks, at which the fishermen may take shelter, and not be exposed either to stress of weather or the ill-treatment of the barbarians, who never omit any opportunity, even at present, of annoying them. While at Leghorn and Genoa in the course of last summer, I ascertained that the French government was making very strenuous efforts to regain its former influence in this lucrative fishery; and an official notice had appeared in the Italian journals, signed by the French consul at Leghorn, inviting the coral fishermen of all countries to resume their labours under the protecting auspices of France, which had, according to this document, obtained some extraordinary privileges from the Dey of Algiers. The result of my information on the general state of commerce in the Mediterranean, was transmitted to a gentleman who had more facility than myself, of communicating with men in office. Although gratuitous information is not always the most acceptable, or likely to receive attention, neither of these circumstances should prevent us from persevering in an honest endeavour to serve our country, without the smallest regard to the prejudices of party.—*Ed.*

had sufficient address to inspire the believers with a large share of enthusiasm; the populace flocked round his person, happy if they could touch the hem of his caftan; and he was carried in ferocious triumph through the warlike city. There have been few more daring enterprizes, or well contested battles, than the bombardment of Algiers: many of the ships approached within pistol-shot of the city, particularly that of Lord Exmouth, which is said to have nearly grounded on the Mole-head.

The Algerines exhibited all the furious valour of Musselmen on this memorable occasion: their principal batteries, which by the noble admiral's judicious plan of attack, were taken in flank, suffered dreadfully; but no sooner was one set of cannoniers swept away, than another was in readiness to occupy their place; till these fell in their turn to rise no more. The intrepidity and *sang froid* displayed by the devoted Mahometans, might well surprize the British. The battle raged for several hours, with unabated fury; innumerable cannon on the shore, a fire from the assailants, which those who witnessed compared to a volcanic eruption; shells bursting in the air, added to the terrific hissing of Congreve's rockets; are said to have rendered the attack on Algiers, one of the most sublime horrors ever beheld. Victory continued to hover over the hostile parties for a considerable time, till by a new effort of the British forces, the thunder of Mars had reached the piratical ships; whose flames, together with those of the guilty city, seemed to ascend to Heaven as an atonement to the Divinity for past aggressions, and threatened speedy destruction, if not terminated by a timely submission to the victors. At this period of the action, nothing could exceed the panic into which the followers of Islam were thrown; deprived as it were by magic, of all exertion, they stood motionless, and as if petrified by the hand of destiny, surveyed the surrounding ruin with stupid indifference. Another hour, and to speak in the language of the gallant admiral, the national vengeance would have written, ALGIERS THAT WAS!

It was in this perilous crisis of his affairs, that the haughty

Algerine chief bowed the neck, and condescended to appeal to the generosity of his enemies. "*It is not the policy of England,*" said Lord Exmouth, "*to make unprovoked war on peaceful nations; nor does it delight in the sufferings of individuals: we love and seek peace; which has never been refused to an enemy, who sought for it with sincerity.*" Hostilities ceased, an amicable arrangement followed; and, to avail myself of an expression in the Prince Regent's answer to a civic deputation of the London citizens, "The treaty of peace was such as a great and generous nation should accord to its enemies." Amongst other stipulations, Algiers was obliged to restore the money that had been advanced by several Italian states, for the ransom of their subjects; all Christian slaves were not only released, but a solemn promise was exacted to abstain from making any more captives. This treaty, dictated by a philanthropic spirit, a sublime and amiable philosophy, might be justly compared to that which Hiero, the magnanimous sovereign of Syracuse, imposed on the people of Africa above two thousand years before, for having disgraced themselves by human sacrifices and abominable rites.*

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* The result of our attack on Algiers, will be seen in the following General Memorandum, dated three days after the action.

GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, August 30th, 1816.

The Commander-in-Chief is happy to inform the fleet of the final termination of their strenuous exertions, by the signature of peace, confirmed under a salute of twenty-one guns, on the following conditions, dictated by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England:—

I. The abolition, for ever, of Christian slavery.

II. The delivery, to my flag, of all slaves in the dominions of the Dey, to whatever nation they may belong, at noon to-morrow.

III. To deliver, also, to my flag, all monies received by him for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of this year, at noon, also, to-morrow.

IV. Reparation has been made to the British consul for all losses he may have sustained in consequence of his confinement.

V. The Dey has made a public apology, in presence of his ministers and officers,

The foregoing event, together with many subsequent ones, having suggested a variety of considerations, no less interesting to Europe, than civilization in general, will, it is presumed, very properly terminate an undertaking of this nature.

The first arrangement entered into with the Barbary powers, was I think made with too much confidence and facility. In paying money for the redemption of Christians, it seemed to imply a tacit acknowledgment of their right to commit depredations and conduct Europeans into slavery. The very sight of that gold which was received under the auspices of Great Britain, must have inflamed their avidity for more; and this could not be had, without a return to new acts of plunder and rapine. The revenge which was afterwards taken, and treaty made at the point of the sword, produced a more impressive effect, and inspired greater terror than mere threats could have done. But are we not justified in asking whether all has been done which it was in our power to perform, or the interests of Europe and humanity required? Some people have thought, the enterprize rather premature, alledging that the previous conduct of the barbarians had occa-

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and begged pardon of the consul, in terms dictated by the captain of the Queen Charlotte.

The Commander in Chief takes this opportunity of again returning his public thanks to the admirals, captains, officers, seamen, marines, royal marine artillery, royal sappers and miners, and the royal rocket corps, for the noble support he has received from them throughout the whole of this arduous service; and he is pleased to direct, that on Sunday next a public thanksgiving be offered up to Almighty God for the signal interposition of his Divine Providence, during the conflict which took place on the 27th between His Majesty's fleet and the ferocious enemies of mankind.

It is requested, that this memorandum may be read to the ships' companies.

To the Admirals, Captains, Officers, Seamen, Marines, Royal Sappers and Miners, Royal Marine Artillery, and the Royal Rocket Corps.

Since the famous expedition of Charles the Fifth, which took place in 1541, ten more attacks including that of Lord Exmouth, have been made on Algiers, with various degrees of success; but none have produced results so important as the last, although there was scarcely ever a smaller force employed.—*Ed.*

sioned such a general feeling of horror, and desire of vengeance throughout Europe, as to justify a belief that serious intentions were entertained of forming a combined league against the piratical states, when the British ministry assumed the initiative to themselves, and by a species of political *coup de main*, struck a splendid blow, but disturbed the execution of a more vast and efficacious plan for the final destruction of piracy. It was as if the column of a great army had quitted the line, attacked and repulsed the enemy, but prevented its being surrounded by the main body; that this affair between the English and Algerines was rather a duel than a battle; a spirited discussion between two parties, but not a grand question, which was to decide the fate of a large portion of the habitable globe; that the British nation has vindicated its own wrongs, but not those done to all humanity. Resting their grounds of suspicion on some recent political transactions, and the treaties made, there are persons who would fain make us believe, that actuated by a narrow and tortuous policy, the British ministry is not really inimical to the existence of the Barbary powers, or particularly desirous of putting an end to their depredations. To all this my answer is, that it is extremely hard to say, whether the proposed league was likely to have occupied the attention of the other European cabinets; whether that which had been neglected for centuries, was to be the result of recent aggressions; or that the nations of Europe would have co-operated with a degree of sincerity in a plan for the suppression of the African pirates, which they never evinced, either for the preservation of their own liberties, or personal safety.

But of one important fact the whole world can judge, that after the English armament's being prepared at a heavy expence, it struck a decisive blow, punished one of the guilty states, and humiliated all the rest. Besides almost destroying the capital of Algiers, and burning its ships, the British admiral not only liberated all the Christian slaves, but forced the pirates to refund a large sum of money. That Great Britain can wish for the existence of these

powers, or their iniquitous system, is grossly absurd, and contradicted by the evidence of facts: a similar policy would be as unworthy of this great people, as it is inconsistent with their high and generous character. The nation whose ships cover the ocean from Cape Horn to Kamtschatka, and Nootka Sound to Macoa, cannot possibly regard a few contemptible coasting vessels in the Mediterranean, with an eye of jealousy. Besides, did not the English government accord protection and support to all the subjects of friendly powers, during the late war; and even permit their ships to navigate under the immediate protection of British men of war? So far from betraying any disposition to encourage hostilities against the smaller powers of Europe, did not the mediation of England bring about a peace between the barbarians and Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Naples, Sicily, and the Pope? On the other hand, all these complaints against Great Britain, are at the bottom, no more than a species of homage paid to a great people. Nations are generally served like individuals: when long accustomed to receive proofs of kindness, and witness acts of generosity, we think ourselves entitled to a continuance of them, and with many they even become a duty. But after all, the English are not surely the knight errants and champions of all Europe: why therefore should they be obliged to be always brandishing the sword of vengeance, without ever sheathing it, merely for the purpose of vindicating the wrongs and insults, committed against those governments, who have had the baseness to tolerate them? Have not these governments and nations, I would ask, men, arms, and principles of honour to defend, as well as England?*

Is it not a strange paradox, that the princes of Christianity,

* Leaving the talent with which Mr. Pananti has replied to the illiberal insinuations of those who have been so busily employed in vilifying our policy towards the piratical states, but more particularly depreciating the importance of our attack on Algiers, to the reader's judgment, I cannot help observing, that its weight is not diminished by coming from the pen of a disinterested foreigner.—*Ed.*

should be so frequently led into a declaration of war, for the sake of some useless pretension, or idle etiquette; and yet quietly suffer those incessant attacks on the laws, liberties, and commerce of their subjects, made by an unprincipled rabble? That the followers of a religion of peace and concord, of which the first benefits were those of establishing brotherhood amongst the children of men, and the abolition of servitude, should permit the people of civilized Europe, to be thrown into chains; and that the real believers of an enlightened faith, should stoop to the yoke of a ferocious sect, and lying prophet, is indeed a strange enigma! Care was taken to abolish the traffic in blacks; who, while that was tolerated, became the slaves of civilized men. But no efforts were made to terminate the slavery of the whites, who fell into the hands of savages!

Three-fourths of each century were passed in sanguinary warfare between the cultivated nations of Christianity. They never dreamt of uniting to chastise these African chiefs, whose barbarous method of carrying on war possesses a character of cruelty and perverseness; which neither the irresistible law of the strongest, or most overstrained rights of victory, do not even concede; who are, in fact, not at war with any single nation, but in a state of hostility against virtue and humanity!

Contemplando ne andâr per tutti i tempi,
Ch'or con eterno obbrobrio a disonore
Alli Cristiani usurpano i mori empi;
L'Europa è in armi, e di far guerra agogna
In ogni parte, *fuorchè ove bisogna!*

It was thus, that Ariosto sung above two hundred years ago; and his sentiments apply with so much justice to what has been going on since that period, as to make one believe, the affairs of men are impelled onwards, by a blind and heedless fatality, rather than the suggestions of reason and common interest.

An impartial observer, in forming his opinion of things, would be inclined to say, that a cold self-love, exclusively occupied in its

own aggrandizement, little jealousies, miserable prejudices, and pitiful passions, which look for advantages in the misfortunes of other people, sordid motives of individual interest, which turn aside our attention from the grand road that leads to conferring happiness on all, have alone prevented a permanent and solid union, a sincere concurrence of will and power, to emancipate humanity from the bitter thraldom of persecution and servitude under which it has groaned for centuries. Reflecting on what has happened, a person would be almost justified in asserting that the property and personal liberty of the wretched inhabitants of Europe, attracted so little attention, or excited so small a share of sympathy amongst the great and powerful, that they did not consider it either as a religious or political duty to listen to the cries, or redress the grievances of those innumerable victims, who, bereft of all, have been suffered to perish miserably on the shores of Africa! Who can applaud such frigid apathy, or unravel the motives of so barbarous a policy? Political science resembles the sphinx of the fable: it devours all those who cannot resolve its enigmas.

To a rational observer nothing could have been more imprudent and deplorable than the foregoing line of conduct: the European powers, in regulating their policy with the Barbary chiefs, have been contented to buy an uncertain peace, and short intervals of tranquillity; when a moderate share of reflection must have suggested the necessity of punishing the arrogant chiefs of Africa, without sending rich presents, and paying large sums; which, applied in a different way, would have been more than sufficient to secure the whole country's submission, and destroy the piratical cities. Far from adopting such a line of policy, it has been thought necessary, in the midst of lamentation and complaint, to lose time in protracted negociations, and ineffectual attacks; when a combined movement, in which any one of the great powers, coalesced with the most offended states, might have struck a blow, which would have severed the infected tree at the very root, and in one day effected that, which has given cen-

turies of inquietude to Europe. We have, I trust, at length discovered, that neither caresses, presents, nor submission, are the best mode of bringing these powers to a sense of propriety. It would be equally ruinous and impolitic to believe in their farther promises; or so easily pardon, and then make peace with a people, who continue to observe it, merely as long as it suits their convenience. Force, inflexibility of character, and unshaken firmness, should alone be used to reduce governments, which, like those of northern Africa, are totally destitute of all justice and virtue.

The methods pursued with respect to them, have hitherto possessed neither dignity or wisdom: they have given peace without stability, and repose without security; a truce, far more injurious than the most destructive war. In common life, nothing is half so degrading as to receive an insult with impunity. It is equally humiliating to see pride and iniquity triumphing over weakness and indecision.

Although the vengeance of a great people has fallen on the ceaseless violators of good faith, yet circumstances of a most conclusive nature would seem to indicate, that all has not been done, which might be effected; and, according to the well-known maxim of a great man, nothing is done, while any thing remains to be performed.

Nil actum reputans, si quid superesset agendum.

I also am for peace, and far from wishing to preach up the doctrine of eternal war, or having any desire to see the crimes of a nation expiated by its blood; yet surely, some strong measures of precaution are rendered necessary against those, from whose long and systematic violence, Europe has already suffered so much; whose disregard to all moral obligation, avarice, and hatred to Christians, stimulated by resentment, must, sooner or later, call their bad passions into more baneful action than ever. Without commerce, manufactures, or the smallest turn for industrious habits, where will these people find resources, if not in a return to former pursuits? The preparations

making in all the ports of Barbary, are convincing proofs, if any were wanting, to shew that the respective chiefs do not calculate on remaining at peace: that it is entirely contrary to *their* interests, we do not want to be informed.

By another extraordinary fatality in politics, the Barbary states have been treated with as independent governments; whereas, their chiefs are considered as little more than rebels by the Grand Seignor. Nothing like a decisive measure has been adopted in the late negociations, to prevent them from returning to the trade of piracy and plunder. Would it not have been easy, not only for England, but the whole of Europe, to declare, in a solemn and specific manner, that they were desirous of continuing at peace; but that, on the first insult offered to a Christian vessel, of any European nation, or the smallest violation of treaties, which they had sworn to observe, the united armies of Europe should that moment appeal to the sword; and landing on the shores of Africa, make a last effort to avenge the wrongs of many centuries? Might not those statesmen who examined the subject, have suggested the propriety of insisting, that the armed ships of the regencies should be either given up or dismantled; and only suffered to leave their ports, for the purposes of legitimate trade? I am aware, that conditions like these, could not be imposed on more civilized or independent states; but they are fully justified, when put into force against anti-social governments, which are in a state of natural hostility with civilized nations. There is little doubt but such would have been the policy of ancient Rome, and that senate which Pyrrhus emphatically called the assembly of kings. If, as a wise man of Greece said, we should treat a friend, as if he was one day to become our enemy; with how much greater reason are we called upon to be not only very diffident with a newly reconciled enemy, but take measures of precaution against his future machinations, when we are assured, that he is hatching revenge, and meditating new treasons?

In conformity to the above principle, it does not seem that many of the European sovereigns place any very great reliance on the good

faith of the Barbarians; for although all have entered into treaties with them, both the Spaniards and Dutch have determined to keep a squadron constantly cruizing within the Straits of Gibralter. Sir Sidney Smith has also proposed, that armed ships of different nations should unite to keep the pirates in check, until more effectual measures should be adopted; and it would be highly desirable, from a similar motive, that the knights of Malta should be established in some island near the coast of Barbary, whence that meritorious order might renew its former efforts against the infidels. There are, perhaps, many who would like to see the American republic acquire a port in the Mediterranean; that being the first nation of the present day, which sent a naval force to chastise the pirates: shewing an important example to the nations of Europe, and how subjects should be defended; and this, from a nation entering into commercial rivalry with Great Britain, could not fail to be highly beneficial to the shores of the Mediterranean; a nation which is daily rising in splendor, glory, and prosperity; and may, in fact, be called the land of promise, as Italy is of reminiscence.*

* Such is the opinion which the Americans have contrived to create for themselves on the continent; for I really believe, that in this instance, the author is recording that of the Italian public, rather than his own; although I confess, the conduct of the United States Government has a sufficient degree of Punic cunning and trading chicanery about its bombastic and inflated policy, to impose even on such minds as that of Mr. Pananti; and I am ready to confess, that the exertions of its navy in punishing the Algerines, is entitled to the very highest praise which we can bestow on people who are determined to defend their own property: I am equally ready to allow, that they displayed the utmost gallantry during the late contest with England; that they are to be admired for the rapid strides they are making towards the formation of a navy, which will, no doubt, call that of another power into action, at no very distant date;—an event to which I do not look either with fear or trembling. But I am not, on that account, to hold up America as a model, either of legislative or political excellence; for this very unanswerable reason, that I view its government acting on principles quite as selfish and illiberal as that of any other country. As a proof of this fact, we have only to witness its narrow-minded and unjust conduct towards the South American patriots, which has been very ably illustrated by a political writer of the day, who is most intimately acquainted with the motives which actuate the whole tribe of trans-atlantic orators and statesmen.

I really cannot see the possibility of confiding in the promises of those rapacious soldiers of fortune, who have gone on for so long a period in betraying Europe; despots, who consider the esteem of the multitude, as setting bounds to their will and power. "What?" said an Emperor of Morocco to a European merchant, who reminded him of his word, "do you take me for an infidel, who must be a slave to his promises? Am not I master of my own actions to change when I like?" Regarding this matter in another light, will it be always in the power of these chiefs to repress the licentious rage and thirst for plunder which is constantly manifested by the soldiery; and scarcely ever appeased, except by having recourse to war, or taking the Dey's head off?—Can the successor of a military chief be persuaded to adhere to the stipulations entered into by his predecessors? Is it possible to establish permanent conventions with countries that are always in tumult and revolution? Who profess that war and plunder are necessary for their existence? Who, amongst those excuses which are annually sent to the Grand Seignor for not paying their tribute,

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The hints thrown out by Mr. P. have, I dare say, been long since given to his majesty's ministers, with various others which might be added, and which are quite enough to excite their utmost vigilance and most serious consideration.

Without yielding to any American in a sincere and ardent love of rational liberty, I think it may still be found without crossing the Atlantic, where too many deluded individuals have found a melancholy grave in the pursuit of that prosperity which had been vainly promised, as the price of abandoning their native country and all the connections of early life.

In closing these few remarks, I cannot help calling public attention to the whole policy of the United States towards their unfortunate countrymen who are struggling for that liberty in the southern hemisphere, of which *these* of the north pretend to be the sole and only possessors; but more particularly to the recent arrest and incarceration of eleven British subjects, who had engaged in the patriot cause. It is extremely difficult to believe, that this malevolent act did not originate in their irascible hatred to England, in shewing which no opportunity is lost: if not intended to mortify and insult us, it was following up their scheme of impeding the progress of independence; and either, is highly disgraceful to a nation, whose government has long preached up moderation and the rights of man, even to satiety.—*Ed.*

principally bring forward the necessity they are under of keeping expensive squadrons to cruize against the Christians!

Frequently as the piratical cities have been bombarded, often as the tyrants have felt the consequences of their rapacity, and been obliged to sue for mercy, have they not, when it was granted, shortly returned to their old system? The Algerine squadrons were, in the course of the last century, destroyed no less than three times by the English: that regency had also a terrible lesson from Duquesne, admiral to Louis the Fourteenth. Notwithstanding all these formidable attacks, Algiers has soon risen from its ashes more powerful than before: besides, the African chiefs are perfectly indifferent to the destruction of their towns. This fact is illustrated by the well-known reply of a Barbary sovereign, who offered to destroy his capital for half the money which it would cost to equip a force capable of attacking it!

Neither restrained by respect, gratitude, or fear, the Barbarians were, still continue, and ever will be, the scourges of commerce, and robbers of the ocean. Under such a system of unchecked violence and successful depredation, well may the chiefs of Barbary adopt the motto of Milton's hero, and exclaim,

> Farewell, remorse! all good to me is lost;
> Evil be thou my good!——

Were any thing wanting to prove the little reliance which can be placed on these people, it would surely be found in the necessity under which various powers have been, of sending their admirals to remonstrate against some new aggression since the attack on Algiers. It is but very lately that the appearance of an American commodore before Algiers was announced; the Dutch admiral, Von Capellan, was, about the same time, occupied in requiring the Emperor of Morocco to restore the captured vessels of his sovereign. Scarcely had these facts met the public eye, when the English consul at Tripoly was obliged to strike the flag of his nation until satis-

faction should be given for the capture of a Hanoverian vessel, carried into that port by one of the Bey's cruizers.

It is also reported, that several Algerine corsairs which happened to be out of the way on the day of retribution, are at this moment prowling about in search of victims. The Tunisian squadron, whether from a fear of the British Admiral Penrose's ships, or a sudden fit of decorum, confines its depredations to the Adriatic. Many people have alluded to vessels which have been seen in some parts of the Mediterranean with black flags displayed, and who plunder or destroy all they meet: who knows, too, if some of these audacious cruizers, which commit so many excesses in the Bay of Cadiz, and off Cape St. Vincent, may not be the corsairs of Tripoly,* Algiers or Sallee, who cover themselves under the flags of Buenos Ayres? The Dey of Algiers has been humbled; but has the naval force of Morocco, Tunis, or Tripoly been reduced?—If asked, whether the Algerine despot was altogether subdued, events would, I think, fully justify my answering in the negative. He may, indeed, have lost his physical force; but augmented hatred and vindictive hope remain.—He is now incessantly occupied in rebuilding the city walls, repairing the forts, and equipping a new squadron. The ties of friendship are daily drawn closer between him and the Morocco chief, while those satellites of his will, who did not give entire satisfaction during the bombardment, have been accused of treason, and strangled. At the same time, nothing can exceed the Dey's resentment to Christians. This is, of course, chiefly directed against the English.

A ship of that nation having recently anchored in the Bay of Algiers, all communication with her was interdicted; nor was she allowed to receive any supplies whatever. The further supplies of grain have been also prohibited to the British Mediterranean possessions; nor can an English trader attempt to negociate any of his concerns in the piratical state. Besides those vessels already armed,

* In this part of the original work, there is a long extract from Tully's Residence in Tripoly; a work already noticed in the preceding pages.—*Ed.*

the Dey expects three frigates as a present from the Grand Seignor; this is an important fact, and merits great attention. Formerly the Porte was only intent on the best means of bringing the Barbary chiefs back to subjugation. It now furnishes them with the means of renewing their predatory warfare!

After the late attack, and while the squadron of Lord Exmouth was still in sight, the ferocious Omar harangued the populace from his palace walls, exclaiming in a half suffocating tone: "No! we are not vanquished! or if we are, it is by arms, which are unknown to us, those of corruption and treason. We fought like true Mussel-men, and our fame will be echoed on other shores. When the base perish, they are no longer spoken of: the brave fall, their names are remembered, and the glory of their country revives!"*

* Algiers has seldom been governed by a more fierce or resolute character than Omar Basha, who possessed talents which would have given considerable *eclat* to the military leader of a more civilized country. Ever since the attack by Lord Exmouth's squadron, he was incessantly occupied in repairing the losses sustained on that memorable occasion, until the arrival of that period which never fails to overtake the Algerine despots. This occurred early in January last; soon after which, the following account of Omar's death appeared in the public papers.

When the Janizaries surrounded the palace of the Dey, he called the officers of the artillery and navy to his assistance, but they declined interfering. The Dey then demanded of the Janizaries what they wanted? They replied,—"An individual from within." Anxious to preserve his life by any sacrifice, he offered to double the pay of the whole corps; but this was rejected, and his person loudly called for. His firmness now forsook him, and he had recourse to poison: its operation, however, was not sufficiently quick; and the Janizaries entered, seized, and bound him. His highness was then conducted to the place of public executions and strangled.—The soldiers then quietly returned to their homes. All this happened in the course of an hour after their first assembling. Such is the summary mode of proceeding in Algiers!

The following account of Omar's successor has just appeared in a morning journal:—"French papers to the 20th instant (March) have been received, by which we are informed that the wretch who usurped the sovereignty at Algiers only to commit the most atrocious acts, has received the chastisement due to his crimes. Heaven interfered for the protection of man; and in twenty-four hours, the plague swept the despot to his grave, amidst the rejoicings of the people whom he had so grievously oppressed." Thus it appears, that plagues are not such bad things

It will be in vain that the cabinets of Europe, and illustrious association of knights liberators, attempt to convince the barbarians it is their interest to remain at peace, or carry on a friendly commercial intercourse with civilized states; that their happiness can alone be obtained, by entering into the great family of European civilization. Reason never speaks till the passions have subsided; and long practised iniquity has made vice so natural to the people of northern Africa, that one almost despairs of inspiring them with the force or efficacy of moral sentiment. Truth in vitiated minds, is like thunder, which may penetrate the grave, but cannot awaken the dead.

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as some people imagine. With respect to the new ruler of Algiers, he is said to be a Moor, and has already succeeded in forming a strong party against the Turkish soldiery, many of whom have fallen a sacrifice to the just resentment of their Moorish rivals in power.—*Ed.*

CHAPTER XXII.

Italy more exposed than ever to the Depredations of the Barbary Corsairs.—Consequences of no more Captives being made.—Prisoners of War.—Their probable Treatment by the Barbarians.—Illustrations.—Necessity, Justice, and Utility of more powerful Measures.—Various Reflections; and Anecdote of an English Seaman.—Importance to Europe of colonizing Northern Africa.—Its amazing Fecundity.—Facility of penetrating into the Interior from that Direction.—Splendor of the Enterprize.—Its Advantage to Antiquarian Research, Science, and the useful Arts.—Observations, &c.

FROM the peculiar situation of Italy, and our vicinity to the opposite shores of Barbary, many think there is more cause than ever to apprehend the effects of piracy. The chiefs being no longer able to send out regular squadrons, will give all possible encouragement to predatory individuals, who, by means of small vessels, can steal about the Mediterranean unobserved; when there will be scarcely a rock on our defenceless coast, that does not conceal a pirate. Many people have asserted, that this mode of warfare will be more injurious than the most open hostility.

It should also be recollected, that although tribute is no longer to be paid, presents are received: the former had its limits; but who can suppose that people, whose avidity for gold knows no bounds, will ever be satisfied with what is voluntarily presented?

On the other hand, if captives are taken, how is Europe to be acquainted with the circumstance?

It is said, that these powers will make no more slaves; but they

can take prisoners from those nations with whom they may be at war: we have, therefore, only to reflect on the probable fate of any person who becomes a prisoner of war in Africa! Surely, it does not require any argument to prove, that death would be infinitely preferable to such a misfortune. The barbarians had, formerly, a particular interest in preserving the life of a slave; but is it likely that the same feeling can extend towards prisoners, whom they will not only be obliged to support without working, but give up at the conclusion of hostilities? This highly important consideration will be more clearly illustrated by referring to the unhappy condition of the poor Greek sailors, who were considered as prisoners of war: during my residence in Algiers, these were loaded with double irons; and, although repeatedly demanded by the divan of Constantinople, no attention whatever was paid to the claim; and when applied to by the Grand Seignor, the Dey used to evade compliance, by saying they were dead. Upon the whole, were it left me to chuse between the alternative, of being a prisoner, or slave in Barbary, I should have no hesitation whatever in adopting the latter.

I am willing to admit, that these powers are not so likely to commit acts of violence as formerly; but I can never be persuaded, from the experience I have had of their general character, but that every device which wickedness can invent will be resorted to, for the purpose of following up their old profession. Pursuant to this principle, which is to them irresistible, how very easy will it not be for a corsair, on making a capture, to take the most valuable part of the cargo out, burn the ship, and throw her crew into the sea: this has been frequently done by Christian pirates; will those of Barbary be refrained from a similar proceeding?*

* The extreme probability of this being resorted to, is very considerably strengthened by the following authentic anecdote extracted from a work lately published in France, relative to the Barbary states.

Ragep Rais, one of the most notorious pirates of Algiers, having armed a corsair; sailed for the purpose of scouring the Mediterranean. He had been out only a short time,

Even while that wicked system was legally tolerated by the Christian powers, slaves were to be found in every part of the interior: removed from the sea-coast, good care will be taken to sell future victims to masters, who, living in the mountainous districts, cannot hope to escape. Others, transferred to the Desert, must perish miserably, under the brutal treatment of their oppressors. As a proof that the above is not an idle conjecture, I need only mention the very recent instance of a Frenchman, who returned to his native place, Dijon, after an absence of thirty years; during the whole of which period he was totally ignorant of the events that took place in Europe: secluded in a remote part of the Algerine territory, his daily occupation was generally that of being yoked to the plough, and at night exposed to all the inclemencies of the season, with several other slaves in a ragged tent. We have also heard of another ill-fated being, who, from a similar cause, had no means of communicating with his family; and on coming to Europe, after an absence of many years, found that his little patrimony was sold, and himself given up as dead. The recent narrative of John Adams, an American seaman, who had been wrecked on the western coast of Africa, affords a good specimen of the dangers which await navigators who are thrown on that dreadful shore, and their shocking treatment amongst the natives.* In the actual state of things, many industrious mariners will leave our ports, but we shall never hear of

when, notwithstanding the most positive orders received from his master, not to molest French ships, he met one which was coming from the Levant, and bound to Marseilles, richly laden with silks and other merchandize. Unable to resist this temptation, Ragep took possession of the vessel, and steered towards Algiers with his prize. However, on getting near the coast, the orders of the Divan occurred to him with redoubled force, and having hesitated for some time as to the best plan to be pursued, he at length determined to take out the best part of the cargo: this was immediately effected, upon which the vessel was sunk, and every soul of the crew, amounting to thirty-six Frenchmen, had their heads struck off and were thrown into the sea!—*Ed.*

* Since Adams's narrative, another has appeared from the pen of a Mr. Riley, the master of an American ship wrecked on the same coast: together with a great deal of useful information, Mr. R. has embellished his story with a few *miracles.*—*Ed.*

their return. Enquiring for departed friends, there will be no one to give us a clue to their discovery: the perils from which we have escaped, were, in fact, trifling when compared to those arising from anxiety and suspense like the foregoing.

But in admitting that no more slaves are made by the Barbary states, are we sure that piracy will decrease? I think not; and after death or slavery, what can be worse than losing a man's property and substance, the fruits of many years labour, anxiety and speculation. Relieved from the sordid responsibility of preserving their captives, the barbarians will be more at liberty to pursue the system of plunder, taking good care that the victims shall have no opportunity of returning to tell their story.

Should it be found, that after having first continued to soften the enmity of the barbarians by tributes, presents, and other measures of conciliation, and then granted them the privilege of remaining at peace with the Christian powers, they betray their natural disposition, and return to the commission of former crimes; there is, I trust, no individual in Italy, who will not contribute, either personally, or by voluntary contribution, to those measures of retaliation which the greater powers of Europe may in their wisdom determine on, for the total destruction of the common enemy.

It is no doubt very proper and even dignified to begin by moderation and forbearance; also to avoid extremes, until all the means of remonstrance and conciliation have been exhausted. But when there is no longer any hope of bringing states like those of Barbary into a sense of propriety, the last resource of kings must be found in the well known Roman maxim, *Bellum justum quibus est necessarium, et quibus nulla, nisi in armis, relinquitur spes.* It becomes the legitimate right of sovereigns to revenge the injuries sustained by their subjects, or the weak and unprotected who solicit their support. It was by similar exertions, that the heroes of antiquity obtained the glory which has immortalized them; and in this respect modern rulers would do well to imitate their actions. The power of Buonaparte

has been justly destroyed, because he trifled with public liberty, and wished to ruin commerce; while the natural and inveterate foes of industry and trade are tolerated, in the lawless governments of Barbary. During the ex-emperor's reign, several countries united to the colossal empire, continued at peace with the barbarians. Being now detached from it, will any known law of nations justify their being thus left exposed to piratical depredation; particularly as the African chiefs are said to have looked forward to the separation of those powers from France, in the hope of its affording them an opportunity of giving full scope to their hatred and love of plunder. Buonaparte, who was fond of indulging in vast enterprizes and great designs, seemed to dwell with peculiar delight on the facility which must attend the conquest of northern Africa; and I have often seen the Moors tremble at the very thought of an invading French army. Those who have destroyed the gigantic power of France, are under a species of tacit obligation to perform all the good, intended to be done by the former head of that government.

To what possible purpose are such large armies kept up in time of profound peace; the maintenance of which must be so very expensive, while they prevent nations from enjoying the anticipated benefits of a cessation from long protracted hostility? Are they for the purpose of affording the richly embroidered generals, an opportunity of performing magnificent evolutions, governing large provinces, or passing in review under the balconies of princes? Are these troops intended to become what the Pretorian Guards were at Rome, Janizaries at Constantinople, Mamelukes of Egypt, Napoleon's Imperial Guard, the Tartars in China, or Strelitz of the Czars; to convert Europe into a great barracks, or establish military and despotic power in the civilized world, like that of the Beys and Emperors of Africa? No! These armies are wisely intended to restore the days of social order and domestic tranquillity; to repress the unquiet spirit of a turbulent and rapacious soldiery, who had long been taught to consider Europe as their patrimony, and war as their pro-

fession; to convince an ambitious and restless faction, that it can no longer acquire glory, by converting the rest of the world into a scene of blood and desolation! The presence of the allied army was rendered necessary, not only to prevent the possibility of re-action, but for the purpose of giving that weight to pending negociations, which could not be fulfilled, without the appearance of a great moral and physical force: these are the only objects, for which the kings of our time, or revered and legitimate governments, can require armies. But could not a small portion of these three millions of armed men, who are said to produce all the evils of war, without any of its benefits, be embarked on board a few ships, to seize Bona and Oran, as guarantees of more moderation in the Dey of Algiers? Of what consequence is it, that Genoa should be given to Savoy; or a territory containing so many hundred thousand souls allotted to Prussia on the Rhine and Meuse. That cabinets should extend their frontier lines, and add to the population, is very natural; but it is, surely, of equal consequence to secure the freedom of the seas, and security of commerce; to prevent our being for ever exposed to the robbery of Moorish pirates; that trade should be protected, and the unrestrained communication of nations ensured? We ought not, surely, to be deprived of the very first fruits of peace and good order? In former days, kings and their people, warmed by the feelings of humanity, and a noble revenge, were capable of resenting the injuries, not only of a whole nation, but of single individuals: a sight of the violated Levite woman's garment, was sufficient to excite the whole of the chosen people to war and vengeance, which ended in the total destruction of Benjamin's race. An offence done to a few females at the feasts of Lemnia, led to the Spartans laying waste the plains of Messenia. In more modern times, an old man, who had been dreadfully mutilated in his features and person, presenting himself before the British parliament, thus addressed that august assembly: "I am a native of England, and a seaman by profession: while trading between Jamaica and the Caraccas, I was seized by the

Spaniards, who, after having loaded me with abuse and indignities of every kind, reduced me to this degraded condition; and then dismissed me with all the marks of opprobrium and ignominy." Being asked by a member, what he thought, on finding himself in the hands of such barbarians? The poor man replied, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to the just vengeance of my country!" This report of the cruelty of the Spaniards, was followed by a universal burst of indignation from all present; and soon communicating to an immense concourse of the people without, the air resounded with shouts of revenge, and nothing but war! war! was heard from the multitude; nor were the ministers of his Britannic majesty slow in meeting the wishes of the people, for hostilities immediately followed, and the national resentment was soon expiated.

Hundreds of those unhappy beings, recently liberated from slavery in Africa, might also come forward, and shew the dreadful marks of their past sufferings; the laceration occasioned by chains or the whip; all crying aloud for redress, and proving a necessity of preventing the recurrence of such inhuman treatment. After all that has happened, who can deny, that offended humanity does not call aloud for justice? or that the cold indifference manifested on this important subject, is not calculated to excite the regret and execration of posterity; while history will record it, as a lasting monument of weakness to those, in whose power it has been to remedy the evil?

If unmoved by the call of honour and of justice, to undertake a war of retaliation against the Barbary chiefs, motives of self-interest, added to its certain utility, ought to have their proper degree of influence in this question, as in most others, which are agitated in the civilized world. Where, I should like to be informed, is it possible to point out a more important acquisition to Europe than the northern shores of Africa? which, independently of its natural fertility, would at once throw open the whole of that vast continent, and lead to its speedy civilization. I am certainly justified in saying, that no island

colonies hitherto established in any part of the universe, can be put in competition with this coast, either in climate or natural productions. Where could the people of Europe find the inexhaustible resources furnished by this fine country, which almost spontaneously yields the products of every other? Justly called the garden of nature by the ancients, no wonder that the people of Rome placed their chief glory in colonizing Africa; which not only furnished them with a never-failing supply of corn, wine, and oil, but could always provide for their redundant population.

Africa has always been represented as a beautiful female, whose head is crowned with ears of wheat: this is a just symbol of the country's wonderful exuberance in that important necessary of life. And it is a curious fact, that during those years most unfavourable to European crops, they are sure to be remarkably abundant in Barbary. Should this fine region ever become the patrimony, either by conquest or colonization, of emigrants from Europe, is it not very natural to believe, that the consequent improvement in civilization and attention to agriculture, will render it still more productive? I might, indeed, enlarge almost to infinity on the innumerable advantages which Europe must derive from establishing a reciprocity of interests between itself and Africa. With respect to those supplies in the mere way of commerce, which we should receive from northern Africa, they would consist in nearly all those articles, whether of necessity or luxury, which we now derive from every part of the habitable globe. If the proposed colonization of Africa is gratifying to the philosopher, man of science, and merchant, it is no less attractive to the enterprizing soldier; who, in contributing to the grand work of bringing this boundless region into the European family, would have the consolation to reflect, that no country in the world is more likely to reward his labours with future wealth and independence. Not to mention the amazing quantity of the precious metals collected yearly in Africa, the cities on the sea-coast are all extremely rich; and when I add, that two-thirds of the whole have been plun-

dered from inoffensive Christians, will any one deem me unprincipled for sincerely wishing to see the plundered property restored to the rightful owners?—Yes, it is no trifling source of satisfaction to reflect, that unlike most modern expeditions which have, from the enormous expence attending them, almost ruined some countries, those sent to the coast of northern Africa, will not only be paid for by the treasures which abound there; but every individual concerned may safely calculate on being enriched for the remainder of his life. Tripoly, Tunis, Algiers, Fez, and Morocco, together with several hundred minor cities, would, by a comparatively moderate contribution, more than repay any expedition which may be sent to colonize the country; and I repeat, that on the simple principle of retaliation for past injuries, a general would be fully justified in reimbursing the European powers, for those sacrifices which had been rendered absolutely necessary, by the long continued aggressions of the Barbary chiefs. He who led an army into northern Africa, might, in fact, address his soldiers in the language of the great Ferdinand Cortez, when entering Mexico: "Come, my friends! Follow me. Glory, danger, and riches, are what we seek, and which we are sure to find!"

A league, which was destined to suppress piracy, avenge the wrongs of mankind, and civilize Africa, would not be unworthy of those sovereigns, who have united to restore the lost rights of Europe, and its ancient balance of power; much less the personal exertions of those heroes, who so magnanimously seconded the public opinion at Salamanca, Leipzic, and Waterloo. Rome did not disdain to accord the highest honours to C. Metellus, after his subjugation of the Balearic pirates. The senate also thought it necessary to send a formidable expedition against the marauders who infested the Adriatic, and the barbarous Queen of Lissa: the war so happily concluded against the pirates of the Mediterranean, led to Pompey's obtaining a triumph, and was the precursor of his future glory.

A war of the above nature, would be the more entitled to popu-

larity, from the rare circumstance, of its uniting humanity to sound policy: thus going a great way towards expiating the many ruinous wars which have so often desolated Europe, without any legitimate motive; from caprice, vain-glory, or merely a desire to reign. It must add greatly to the merit of such an enterprize, when it is considered that by far the most important advantages would be on the side of the vanquished: these would receive laws, sciences, arts, and commerce from the victors; civilized manners and customs would soon occupy the place of barbarism, the lands would no longer remain waste and uncultivated; nor the productions of the soil a useless burthen to the proprietor. Neither would the finest country on earth continue under the iron sway of a ferocious and foreign militia. Masters of northern Africa, the harem walls must fall, and suffer the miserable inmates to regain their natural rights in society, rendering the most beautiful part of creation what it should ever be, the happiness and consolation of mankind!

'How gratifying to reflect on the new and improved picture of human affairs, which the occupation of this too long neglected country must present! What could be a more consoling spectacle then to witness new cities rising on the ruins of past ages; and thus compensating for the war of destruction, which has so lately desolated the civilized world? Considered in its various minor bearings, what a wide field of profitable research does the proposed colonization of Africa afford to the naturalist, antiquary, and man of letters? Totally ignorant of Carthaginian antiquities, its language and manners, as we are, much yet remains unexplored of the literature, science and knowledge of the useful arts, which distinguished the Arabs. Should the libraries of Africa be thrown open to the European literati, who knows but that some clue may be found by which the mysterious written characters of the Egyptians will no longer baffle the most acute investigation?

The comparatively extreme facility of penetrating Africa from its northern side, has been already alluded to; and if any conviction of

that most important fact was required, we might surely find it in the melancholy failure of all the recent attempts from the western side, while we know that the communication with Tripoly and Morocco has not experienced the smallest interruption.

Should the ancient prosperity of Africa ever be restored, with what ineffable joy would not the shades of Juba, Syphax and Massanissa, hover round the scenes of former glory and triumph; while those of Hannibal and Amilcar watched the returning wealth and splendor of their favourite city! To those, who feel interested for the dissemination of Christianity, what could delight them more, than to see that country, which in former days contained no less than six hundred bishops, return to the mild faith of the Redeemer, and see his cross substituted for the crescent! Such a glorious enterprize fills the mind with thoughts, to which language cannot give utterance: forming heroes of those concerned in carrying it into effect, it would shed light and happiness on the degraded people of Africa; converting those who are now scarcely superior to the brute creation into good men and industrious citizens!

CHAPTER XXIII.

Difficulties likely to attend the Enterprize.—Remarks on the Moorish Character.—Observations on the Result of those Expeditions hitherto sent against the Infidels.—Want of Union, and unpopular Nature of the Barbary Governments, favourable to an invading Army.—Reasons why the Moors are not likely to adhere to the Fortunes of their present Rulers.—As easy for the united Powers of EUROPE *to colonize Northern Africa, as it was for single Nations of other Times to do so.—Hints to an invading Force.—Best Time to effect a Landing.—Kind of Warfare most adapted to* AFRICA.*—Necessity of Perseverance.—Importance of calling in the Aid of Political Intrigue.—Comparison between the Moors and savage Nations.—Probability of the former's adopting European Manners and another Religion.—Singular Tradition prevalent in* BARBARY.*—Recollections by which an European Army would be animated on landing in* AFRICA.*—Why that part of the World is not as susceptible of undergoing a great political Change as other Countries.—Necessity of employing a sufficient force, and of the Powers of* EUROPE *being unanimous in the Cause.—Nations that ought to direct the League.—Reflections.*

HAVING suggested a few of the advantages to which the colonization of Africa would inevitably lead, it is but fair to take a different view of the subject, and consider the difficulties likely to attend the accomplishment of this grand enterprize. After long meditation on every thing connected with it, I am by no means inclined to assert, that such an undertaking would not involve a great sacrifice of personal exertion, blood, and treasure: but many a single battle in Europe has caused the death of fifty thousand human beings! Besides, the people of Barbary are haughty and fanatical in the extreme, possessing a

religion, manners, and customs, which have neither contact nor sympathy with those of Europe. All these causes would, no doubt, increase the difficulty of reconciling the Moors to a new order of things, when a more effeminate population, who were vitiated by indolence and luxury, would shortly embrace the law of their conquerors.

The Moor, naturally frigid, idle, and voluptuous, if roused into action, is capable of instantly abandoning himself to the opposite extreme of the most furious activity; and, by a singular coincidence, to a life of effeminacy unites the greatest contempt of death. Descended from the Moors who were driven out of Spain, those of Barbary bear a wonderful affinity to the present inhabitants of that country; and in the event of invasion, might display a great deal of the same inflexibility and perseverance. Their total ignorance of military science, would be replaced by a rooted hatred towards Christians, and the hopes of paradise which attended those who fell. Fanaticism, aided by their belief in predestination, inspires the followers of Mahomet with an uncommon share of resolution. In contemplating the perils of an African invasion, we should not forget what the Moors were, under the race of Abderam, the Almohades, and Fatemirs. We cannot have forgotten the fate of Sebastian,* the fierce intrepidity of Barbarossa, Sinan Basha, and Ulukiali;—the recapture of Oran and Gigeri, the power of the Moors in Spain, or their great victory of Xeres.

* This enterprizing young monarch, influenced more by generosity of sentiment than sound policy, undertook the invasion of Africa for the purpose of replacing a Moorish prince, whose throne had been usurped by his uncle; the expedition was opposed by Sebastian's ministers, and terminated in his death, which took place at Alcazar, near Tangiers, in 1578, where the Portuguese army was entirely cut to pieces by that of Hasem, the usurper, a man of extraordinary talents; who, notwithstanding his being in the most debilitated state of health, was carried about the field in a litter, and perceiving the hour of dissolution at hand, ordered those who were about him to conceal his death till the battle was at an end, lest the circumstance should have changed the tide of fortune against his own troops.

It is not attempted to be denied, that our plan of operations might be disconcerted by unforeseen events or local difficulties. The natives, better acquainted with the ground, would, doubtless, possess extensive means of annoying an invading army: the possibility of disease finding its way into the European camps, is also presented to our minds; but long experience in large foreign expeditions, perfect knowledge of chusing the best season, and various salutary precautions suggested by past sufferings, are calculated either to dissipate our fears altogether on these points, or at the worst, to render them of trifling importance. If I have not entirely mistaken those qualities which compose an European army of modern times, the difficulties opposed to a descent on Africa, would only tend to increase the ardour of the invaders; while they must greatly increase the glory of the enterprize. The late war has besides furnished innumerable proofs, that notwithstanding the fanatical fury of Mahometan soldiers, they cannot successfully oppose the *sang froid* and superior military tactics of European troops. The failure of Charles the Fifth's expedition should have no effect in deterring a similar undertaking in our days. —In addition to its being set on foot, at a very improper period of the year, and the time of sailing entirely disapproved of by Andrea Doria, destiny and the elements seemed to have ranged themselves on the side of the infidels, to baffle the Emperor's well-meant efforts.* With respect to the unfortunate, but the brave King of Portugal, he acted with more ardour than prudence; and the camp of St. Louis was infected by a contagious disorder, which invading armies could seldom avoid in those days. To the foregoing considerations, it may safely be added, that no expedition hitherto sent into northern Africa, has

* When this celebrated commander remonstrated with his master on the danger and imprudence of sailing for Africa at that tempestuous season of the year, the Emperor replied, "Seventy years glory to you, and twenty of reigning to me, is surely enough to prevent our being so warmly attached to life." After which, he gave the admiral orders to prepare for sea.

been planned on a scale which was by any means equal to accomplish the object in view.

The example of the crusades is scarcely worth citing, as affording any support to those who might be inclined to treat the subject of an African invasion as chimerical. The disorderly manner in which these disastrous expeditions were conducted, without discipline, unanimity, or the means of existence, renders it matter of surprize how such immense numbers could even arrive at the scene of action, from the remotest parts of Europe; opposed as they were, by the difficulty of transport, and perfidy of the Greek emperors. It should also be kept in mind, that the Saracens fought under chiefs, who were generally much superior to any of the Christian generals; and that at a time when the military art was perfectly well understood amongst their enemies.

The coasts of Africa are, on the contrary, directly opposite to those of Europe, by no means very distant, and perfectly accessible throughout the year. Independently of the facility with which supplies of men, arms, and ammunition may be at all times conveyed to any part of the coast, it is of importance to recollect that they will not be opposed by such chiefs as Nouraddin, Malek-Adhel, and Saladin; while those generals who have immortalized their names on the Ebro, Beresina, Danube, and Rhine, would doubtless engage most heartily in a cause which promised results so glorious to humanity and civilization. The noble ardour and holy zeal inspired by an enterprize of this nature, unshackled by the little jealousies which have so often proved fatal to their undertakings, would give rise to a degree of unanimity, of which the African chiefs are totally incapable, as proved by their late conduct during the attack on Algiers. If they could see that which was directed against a whole regency with perfect indifference, is it likely that any cordial efforts would be made to assist the Turkish militia, whose power, in the event of their repulsing a Christian army, must be established more firmly than ever? Do not these observations apply with equal force to the persecuted tribes, and

Berebers of the mountains; all of whom are the indiscriminate objects of plunder? Even the Moors cannot be depended upon by their oppressors, doomed to witness incessant changes and revolutions, all of which end, in rivetting their chains more closely. Who can pretend to foretel the effect of another great alteration by Europeans on the minds of those people? Besides, the Turkish soldiery have never been allowed to form any ties of consanguinity with the Moorish inhabitants; as the Roman senate used wisely to arrange during the conquests of the republic, or the Tartars of China in more modern times: so that judging of the little inducement a Moor has to follow the fortunes of his tyrannical master, we are fully justified in supposing, that on the arrival of any great disaster to the armies of either, chiefs like those of Tripoly, Tunis, or Algiers, would soon be abandoned to their fate, as many others have been on similar occasions.

It might here be asked, if the Moors have a country worth loving, or princes for whom they would be likely to brave danger and death? Have the African governments ruled in such a way as to merit the sacrifice of all personal safety in their cause? For myself, I have not a doubt, that very little difficulty would be met with in convincing the different inhabitants of Barbary, that their interests and happiness can never be secured under a system like the present. With respect to the Arab tribes, I am satisfied their submission might be safely calculated on, by merely guaranteeing the independence of the different chiefs, and promising their protection, on the example of so many other nations of ancient and modern times, particularly the numerous Mahometan chiefs dependent on the vast Indian empire of Great Britain.

It would not surely be more difficult to establish Christian governments in Barbary, than it was amidst an infinitely more formidable opposition; as in the case of the crusaders at Jerusalem, Antioch and Ptolemais? Or to have its princes tributary, as those of Tunis and Tripoly have already been to the Emperor Charles V. and Norman

kings of Sicily? Should the proposed conquest be ever effected, I should imagine there would be no more trouble attending an equal division of the country, than usually attends such arrangements in Europe, and as we have seen on the coast of Malabar, Guinea, and America. The great object in such an undertaking, should be that of a sincere union, and a sufficient military and naval force.

All who have considered the best mode of proceeding in Algiers, and with many of whom I canvassed the matter while there, were of opinion, that several points should be attempted at the same moment; by which the barbarians could have no chance of co-operating with each other, and the allied powers might assume their respective shares in the enterprize, without the possibility of national jealousies injuring the common cause. The descent should be made in the beginning of winter, during the whole of which, an European army can act in Barbary, without any fear of sickness; and it is at this season, the Moors are least capable of active exertion. If possible, an invading force should push on towards the interior, before the chiefs had time to concentrate their forces on the range of Mount Atlas: the nearer these are kept to the coast, the more easily would their reduction be completed. It would also be impolitic to lose time in partial warfare or trifling skirmishes, in which the enemy's light cavalry would have many advantages over that of Europe. The great object of an invading army in Africa, would be, to keep possession of the plains; where European artillery, and the various evolutions of infantry, must give a decided superiority over the Moors; also to prolong the war with persevering resolution: for although the Musselmen might be capable of some desperate efforts in the onset, they would be sure to yield in a protracted struggle. The military operations in Africa might be very materially seconded by a well-timed application of political intrigue; as it has frequently happened, that the greatest successes have arisen from what has been previously arranged in the closet. It might not be altogether impossible, to induce a large portion of the inhabitants to adopt our manners and customs, and even

religion. There is an important distinction to be made between the people of Barbary and mere savages: the latter are ferocious and inhuman; while the former, though uncultivated, retain some degree of mildness. Savage nations are incapable of a sudden change to civilization, being obstinately attached to their uncouth habits: whereas, it has been observed, that half civilized people, who have been accustomed to European intercourse, pass much more easily into a different way of living. Notwithstanding the inhabitants of Numidia and Mauritania have sunk into their present state of degradation, they were once a civilized people, and still retain strong marks of a more refined nature: endowed with great versatility of character and sentiment, fond of variety, they are by no means inimical to change, and might easily be persuaded to adopt other laws, customs, and principles of faith; as they did when Mahometanism was first preached. Judging from former experience, the Moors of the present day would embrace any dogmas or customs, which happened to please their fervid imaginations. Commencing as zealous Christians, they have ended, by adopting the blind faith of Islamism; learning the love of letters at Fez, they acquired gallantry, heroism, and a fondness for romantic exploits in the vallies of Andalusia, and in the mountains of Grenada. To the foregoing observations on those parts of the Moorish character, which render their conversion to the pristine faith more easy than many are inclined to suppose, I will add another, which is of no trifling importance, when applied to a people who are firmly attached to the doctrine of predestination. All who have written any account of Barbary, notice a terrible tradition, universally prevalent amongst the people; and not unlike that which is said to have greatly contributed to the subjugation of Peru, and dethronement of the Incas. The Moors, without one single exception, are taught to believe, that Heaven has inevitably decreed their whole country is to be reconquered by Christian soldiers dressed in red! This singular tradition has been handed down with the most scrupulous exactness for many centuries; and is probably coeval with

the crusades. It acquires additional force from being religiously believed by the Imans, who think the dreadful catastrophe will happen on a Friday: this accounts for the precaution observed all along the coast of Barbary, to shut the gates of every town for a certain portion of that day; during which the most resolute and least superstitious amongst them, frequently turn their eyes towards the sea, and ejaculate a prayer to avert the threatened danger. It is needless to point out of what incalculable importance an artful general might turn a circumstance, which to us may be fraught with absurdity. If properly revived in a moment of sudden invasion, there is little doubt but that it would produce an extraordinary sensation wi h the whole population of Barbary.

Whatever might be the result of a simultaneous and well organized plan for the colonization of northern Africa, whenever the event takes place, those who are engaged in the enterprize will not be so dispirited, as if they were the first persons who carried terror and conquest into those fertile regions. While bravely attempting to re-establish the lost rights of Europe on that vast hemisphere, they will proudly call to mind the conquest of Tunis, Tripoly, Bona, Oran, Tangiers, and Ceuta. The victories gained during the administration of Cardinal Ximenes, and Count de Montemar; of the King of Tremesen's being restored to his throne by a Christian army, and ignominious discomfiture and death of Barbarossa; the extermination of the Moors on the mountains of Alpugarra, and renowned battle of Tolosa. And what, I would ask, is to prevent Barbary from sharing the fate of other countries? We have already seen it change masters with incredible facility from the Caliphs, Emirs, Fatemirs, Abacidi, and Almohades, to the iron sway of the piratical chiefs; from the government of a conqueror, to the lawless pursuits of robbery and plunder. Why, I should like to be informed, cannot Europe, united, do that which the nations of ancient and modern times effected single-handed? Surely the allied sovereigns can perform that which the Romans, Vandals, Saracens, and Turks, were enabled to do with a hundredth

part of their power? Who will attempt to say that the emperors and kings of Europe cannot subjugate a handful of adventurers, whose crimes and broken fortunes have driven them to the shore of Africa?

Nearly all the expeditions sent to the coast of Barbary of late years, have had little more in view, than the capture of an insignificant town, or destruction of a few corsairs, the former of which could never be retained with any advantage to the possessor, as in the case of Oran and Tangier. As to Ceuta and Melilla, the only places which are in the hands of Europeans, they have never been of the smallest use to Spain, except to confine prisoners of state and malefactors. Shut up within the walls, the garrisons of His Catholic Majesty are not allowed to receive even a little fresh water from their Moorish allies, or go beyond the lines, while the corsairs often approach within gun-shot of the batteries, and make captures close under the walls! If, on the other hand, a piratical squadron is taken or destroyed, it requires only a few months to replace the loss, and a bombardment has scarcely ever been found to produce any permanent effect on chiefs, who took good care to remove their treasures into a place of safety before the attack had commenced. Although one of the regencies has been humbled, others remain; and as I have stated in a former chapter, it is enough for one to declare war against a Christian power, to induce all the rest to assume the belligerent flag, and make reprisals just as freely as in a war of their own.

Should any thing of a serious nature be decided on with respect to these states, the plan should be commensurate to the great object in view. Although it is, I am sure, perfectly unnecessary to point out this matter, where men of the first talent will doubtless be consulted, it may not be irrelevant to state, that the persons with whose opinions I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted in Algiers, thought it would require at least one hundred thousand men to complete the colonization of Barbary from the Straits of Gibralter to Tripoly.

What I have hinted as to the necessity of an increased physical

force, may be applied with equal justice to the moral organization of the proposed design; that is to say, so far as regards the sincere unanimity of the European powers, all of whom, without any exception, must derive great benefit from its success. Who indeed amongst them can be indifferent to such an enterprize, or has not had reason to complain of the barbarians at some period or another of their history?

La Turca fede a chi non è palese?
Tu da un solo delitto ogni altro impara,
Anzi da mille, perchè milla ha tese
Insidie a voi la gente iniqua avara!

England should most unquestionably be at the head of any league intended to suppress the piratical system, and be thus placed in a situation which would enable her to complete the great work she has already begun. In addition to the British nation's being more capable of respecting the principles of public liberty, and sacred rights of mankind, it was the first to abolish the traffic in negroes, as well as causing it to be relinquished by several other powers: having rendered this service to one part of the human species, what people could with more reason prevent the possibility of the whites being again exposed to the same dreadful visitation?

The greatest maritime and commercial nation of the world, ought not surely any longer tolerate a vile banditti, or permit them to scour and devastate the field of their glory and power. Great Britain has destroyed the pirates of Formosa, and those of Macassar, who infested the coasts of India, together with many other lawless bands who lived by plunder in the Red Sea and Persian Gulph. It has by these important events, extended its protection to all the trading nations of the east; the friendly powers of Europe have an equal claim on the generosity of England. She also possesses Malta, which, during the Order's existence, was a source of constant terror to the infidels, and justly called the advanced guard of Christianity: retaining that strong position, the possessors have certainly a right to perform the duties imposed on the Knights of Jerusalem.

If not the first, France should undoubtedly occupy the second place amongst those powers who co-operate in the foregoing plan. Enthusiastic, animated, fond of ardent enterprize, possessing genius to invent, and courage to execute, and which has always been foremost in great and heroic undertakings, it was the people of France who saved Europe from being over-run by the Saracens of Africa. During the reign of Charles Martel, the orators and warriors of this great country were the first to promote the crusades, and had afterwards the chief direction of them. A king of France had the honour of causing mortars to be first used against the capital of Algiers. In the French Chamber of Peers, the author of the Beauties of Christianity, made a most eloquent appeal to that dignified body, in favour of those white slaves who were recently liberated from chains. It is in Paris, that the beneficent society of Knights Liberators has been established, and from whence the most convincing representations are still making to illustrate the necessity of adopting stronger measures, and where assistance is given to all who suffer by the piratical states. One of the first who subscribed to this philanthropic association, was Louis the Eighteenth, a prince, who justly merits the title of a constitutional monarch. The generals and soldiers of France would no doubt feel a secret pleasure in marching under the lily to avenge the death of the good St. Louis, and his brave followers, who fell a sacrifice to their zeal in the cause of Christianity at Tunis, or to pacify the manes of their countrymen, who were inhumanly slaughtered on the ensanguined walls of Gigeri.

Nor should the people of Italy be strangers to this great movement of the Christian princes. Besides our vicinity to the African coast, the first successful attempts to carry war into the heart of Barbary proceeded from the shores of Italy; Tripoly and Bona were both conquered by Italian armies; and the inhabitants of Sfax and Susa will long remember the Venetian fleet, under its famous Admiral Emo; and Algiers, the name of General Acton. The Italian language is understood throughout the whole coast of Barbary, and

its *Lingua Franca* principally composed of terminations from that language. As the people of Italy are, in fact, those who have suffered most by the barbarians, they would be evidently more deeply interested in their reduction than any other; and ought, perhaps, to enjoy as many benefits from it as their more powerful neighbours.

The melancholy picture of what the Christians in Palestine were doomed to suffer from the oppression of the Saracens, being drawn by Peter the Hermit, and the Archbishop of Ravenna, all Europe was roused into action by the recital; and a universal feeling of revenge spread over every country after the Abbè Chiaravelle's eloquent exposition. When Pope Urban II. had finished an oration on the subject, in the great council of Clermont, the whole assembly rose, and exclaimed: "God ordains it! It is the will of Heaven!" Let the moderns also call to mind what they have suffered during a period of more than two hundred years, from the vilest of human kind, the incorrigible and predatory hordes of Barbary. Having reflected on the past, the enlightened governments of Europe would consult the interests of humanity, were they, in the event of future aggressions, never to treat with the violators of public law, and plunderers of the ocean, except at the point of the bayonet, or cannon's mouth. It might then be said of the modern league, as of the ancient ones, which had by no means so legitimate a cause, "Europe seemed plucked from the very foundation, and ready to fall with all its weight on Asia!"

CHAPTER XXIV.

Author's Motives for proposing the Colonization of NORTHERN AFRICA.—*Most equitable Line of Policy to be pursued, should a Descent ever be made in that Country.—Anecdote and Reflections.—Appeal to Princes, Ministers, People, Philosophers, Orators, Poets, and periodical Writers of every Country.—Eulogium on the Anti-Piratical Institution.—Conclusion.*

AFTER all that has been advanced in the preceding chapters, I have no doubt that some people, particularly those who are in the habit of taking a confined view of human affairs, or influenced by the prejudices of party, will set me down as being desirous of precipitating Europe into another sanguinary war, while all the melancholy consequences of the last are still so fresh in our recollection. I can with great truth assert, that those who judge of me in this way, will have totally mistaken the motives by which I have been actuated throughout the foregoing observations:—these have been called forth by a sincere wish of benefiting the whole human race, and for ever putting an end to evils, which it is scarcely necessary to add, have long been in direct opposition to every received principle of natural law, and the general interests of nations. If I have insisted on the necessity of retributive justice being exercised over the offending states, the reader may be assured, it has arisen more from a conviction, that neither half measures or protracted negociation can ever bring the powers of northern Africa into a sense of moderation or forbearance. In suppressing individual delinquency, legislative wisdom begins by

pointing out the obligations we owe to society; penalties are then imposed on those who violate them; and if admonition is not found to bring the culprit back to virtue, he forfeits the esteem of his fellow citizens, and is punished for his crimes: thus satisfying the offended laws of his country, and affording a salutary example to others. It will require very little exertion to apply this illustration in the present instance, by calling to mind the very memorable way in which it continues to be exercised on a nation of our own times: admitting the analogy, they will, I should imagine, have no difficulty in allowing, that what has been almost universally thought just and necessary towards a civilized community, does not change its nature when applied to the ferocious hordes of Africa.

In discussing the subject of carrying hostilities into Barbary, I have naturally pre-supposed the probable future necessity of that measure, in consequence of new aggressions on the part of the predatory chiefs. I am even disposed heartily to applaud the late experiment of the European powers making peace with them: this last proof of moderation and humanity, is infinitely more than the piratical states could have expected. It is for them to appreciate the value of an act as honourable to the mild character of European politics, as it is totally unmerited on their own parts. If, however, they should again require the interference of civilized governments, by setting the law of nations and indefeasible rights of humanity at defiance, I really do not think there is a single individual in Europe, from the sovereign to his meanest subject, who will not rejoice in their final subjugation and long deserved punishment.*

To whatever extremity we are driven, I should be very sorry to advocate the prosecution of war, in the mere spirit of conquest; which

* The author's Memoirs were published in the early part of 1817. A reference to the public records of the day, will enable the reader to judge how far the Barbary states have profited by the confidence reposed in them since August 1816, when the different powers of Europe condescended to treat with them as independent states.—*Ed.*

occasions misery to the vanquished, and is only resplendent in the flashes of its artillery. There is no necessity for crumbling the guilty cities into dust, or converting smiling plains into a sterile waste. What possible advantage could we derive from dominating over a naked and desolate country? The furious Kouli Khan, having given up Delhi to three successive days of plunder and bloodshed, a Fakir had the boldness to present himself before the sanguinary Persian, and exclaimed, "If thou art a merchant, sell us; if a butcher, slaughter us: but if you are a king, forgive, and make us happy!"

The celebrated Duke of Burgundy used to ask, "What's the use of saying, that a king or great general has given laws to the world, if we cannot add, that he also conferred happiness?" The chief object of an African war, should be that of destroying the barbarians power of disturbing the social order of nations, and making friends of them by introducing the incalculable blessings of civilization. True glory is never separated from justice, nor real greatness from generosity. The Moors have certainly offended, and even persevered in aggression: they have, however, been powerfully influenced by the fiery zeal of sectarianism, and bitter resentment created by past recollections, when such strenuous efforts were made against the early Mahometans by the crusaders; nor is it likely that they should have forgotten the measures of severity adopted towards them when driven out of Spain. Strange too as it may appear, in a people whose government exhibits the very type of slavery, they are far from being unmindful of the inhumanity of the whites towards the black population of southern Africa; and whenever we reproach them with throwing Europeans into chains, they affect a look of mingled sorrow and disdain, and then significantly point towards those regions south of the Atlas, appearing to trace the course of the Niger and Senegal.

Some casuists would be induced to consider it as the retributive judgment of Heaven, that those who occupied themselves in conducting the Divinity's own image into slavery on one side of Africa, should themselves share a similar fate on the other!—Besides,

although the atrocious principles of a mistaken faith, and cruel fanaticism, inspired by the doctrines of Mahomet, should have prompted the Turks and Moors to inflict such unheard-of cruelties on Christians, the spirit of vengeance should not enter the hearts of those who profess the mild religion of Christ.

The celebrated Duke de Guise, being apprized that a Hugunot had entered the camp for the purpose of assassinating him, sent for the traitor; and asked, whether it was on account of any particular injury he had received, that he sought his life: "No," said the fanatic: "it is because I consider you the greatest enemy of my religion." "Well then," said the Duke; "if your religion teaches you to assassinate me, mine requires that I should forgive you; and you are therefore at liberty to depart."

It would, no doubt, be extremely adviseable to encourage the propagation of Christianity; but the efforts made for this purpose ought to be conducted with the utmost moderation and delicacy.—It must be left entirely free of all compulsion. Mild persuasion, and convincing arguments, to prove its superior efficacy in promoting human happiness, is the only certain mode of introducing a new dogma amongst fanatics. If the methods hitherto practised in the countries dependent on the English East India Company's government, and islands of the South Sea, are defective, those who may be destined to make proselytes in Africa, will have an opportunity, and may perhaps feel the necessity, of adopting a system better calculated to ensure success.

The political changes which would naturally follow the colonization of northern Africa, should also be the work of time and mature reflection. Even the errors and prejudices of a whole people should be managed with great precaution. In removing the noxious weeds from his fields, the judicious agriculturist takes care not to destroy the approaching crop. The sober light of truth should not resemble the vivid glare of lightning, which proceeds from contending elements, but to that of the sun; which is never so pure as when the Heavens

are unclouded. There is always much to learn, and a great deal to forget, in the government of newly acquired possessions. The people of the present day should not be punished for the crimes of former generations. If the barbarians shew a disposition to renounce past errors, we ought to forget that they were the scourge of commerce for three centuries before.

The reply a lady justly renowned for her talents and wit, made to a celebrated English orator, who maintained the doctrine that a great country should be punished for what happened in a former period of its history, might, with some modification, be applied to the people of Barbary—"Would you punish a river that had inundated the surrounding plains?—The torrent which overflowed its banks, has passed away, and the remaining stream is innocent!"*

* Such were the last recorded words of the Baroness de Staël Holstein, who shortly after their communication to a member of the present cabinet, paid the debt of nature, and left *impartial* posterity to appreciate talents, which many of her contemporaries thought no female of ancient or modern times ever possessed, in an equal degree with the energetic author of Corinna, the exquisitely pathetic memoir of her father M. Necker, and philosophical work on Germany.

Without entering into an examination of those feelings which are said to have thrown a shade over the merits of this extraordinary woman, all may admire that brilliant mind and exquisite sensibility which breathes through every page she has written.—The spots of the sun do not obscure its brightness; and experience proves that our greatest errors arise from a combination of circumstances, which neither the highest sense of virtue, or utmost efforts of prudence, are always capable of controuling. Although many of those restrictions of civilized society, which render women somewhat more dependent than reason approves, or strict justice may require, have been, by some, applied with industrious malignity to the conduct of Madame de Staël; there are individuals, and of her own sex too, who positively maintain she has not deserved a hundredth part of what calumny has insinuated to sully her reputation. Those who have derived instruction and delight from her eloquent and pathetic appeals to the heart and understanding, who have marked her zeal in the cause of public liberty, and anxious efforts to improve the condition of human nature, by encouraging virtuous enthusiasm, will not be influenced by any ill-natured reference to personal imperfections, which have been attributed in a more or less degree, to the greatest characters of every age and country. Had the justly celebrated object of these few remarks been really ambitious of founding a new school in philosophy

While princes, ministers, and people, are daily acquiring greater zeal in the sacred cause of humanity, the philosophers, orators, poets, and periodical writers of the present enlightened period, destined by Heaven at once to instruct and direct the human mind, in the pursuit of true glory, and honourable ambition, are equally ardent on the subject: these have, with scarcely any exception, felt all the impolicy of suffering the piratical hordes to continue their depredations, the natural enemies of injustice, violence, and disturbers of social order.

Literature and eloquence have combined to shew the necessity of adopting other and more effectual measures towards the Barbary chiefs. Inspired by that enthusiasm, without which nothing great is said or performed, the representatives of freedom, and supporters of learning, have at length caught the sacred flame of sympathy and benevolence. May it never be extinguished, till the great work of bringing Africa into the bosom of civilization is accomplished! It belongs to those highly gifted individuals to espouse the cause of truth, reason, and the inviolable rights of men: they have only to speak, and their voice when employed in such a cause, will resound throughout the civilized world; their writings cannot fail to illuminate, while eloquence will complete what reason has begun.

Thanks to the sublime zeal and active perseverance of British

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or ethics, I am not amongst the number of those who would deny her the merit of succeeding, merely because she happened to be a *female*. I am inclined to believe Madame de Staël had a much nobler aim,—that of illustrating many important truths, which, incumbered by the abstruse reasoning and metaphysical subtlety of the German school, might have remained for a long series of years unknown to Europe. As the commentaries of Doctor Johnson are said to have frequently surpassed the text of our own immortal poet, so does the author of "Germany," in my humble opinion, deserve an equal degree of praise for the successful efforts she has made, to render the German philosophy practically useful. With respect to Corinna, there is no exaggeration in saying, that it contains by far the best picture of Italy ever published: and this is no trifling panegyric on the author, when we consider the numbers who have written on the subject. The reader's indulgence is claimed towards this feeble testimony of applause, in favour of a lady who has rendered highly important services to the literature and philosophy of the nineteenth century.—*Ed.*

philanthropists, or the world might still be disgraced by the iniquitous and cruel traffic in human beings. Nothing less than an unprecedented combination of talents and humanity, could have made religion and philosophy triumph over avarice and self-love in the abolition of the slave trade. The same praises are due to all those who have nobly stood forth in favour of Christian captives, dragged into slavery and loaded with chains in northern Africa. Let these only persevere in the cause they have espoused, and there cannot be a doubt of their also gaining another victory, infinitely more important in its results, and useful to humanity, than any hitherto achieved by their predecessors.

The closing observations of an undertaking like the present, could not be more properly applied than in bestowing a just meed of praise on all those who have generously advocated the cause of the white slaves; and amongst the efforts which preceded the recent attack on Algiers, none are more entitled to the undivided applauses of the public and posterity, than the Anti-piratical Institution. This illustrious association owes much to the heroic liberality of the British admiral, Sir Sidney Smith. In addition to the most distinguished names in Europe, the list of knights liberators contains those of Louis the Eighteenth, and the Emperor Alexander of Russia. The charitable president of the above establishment, has neither spared labour nor expence, to extend its correspondence, and obtain a salutary influence both in the courts of Europe, at Constantinople, and all over the coast of Barbary. Considering that our best and most disinterested actions are liable to misrepresentation, it is not surprizing that Sir Sidney's motives should have been distorted by some and vilified by others. It is the fate of great men to be regarded with a jaundiced eye by those who are unwilling or incapable of doing good themselves, and on this very strange account, cannot applaud it in others; but the most indifferent observer would be doing a manifest injustice to the gallant admiral, as well as the august and noble personages who are associated with him, if he denied the great services rendered to

humanity by this benevolent institution; and its general effect in stimulating the measures which have already taken place against the barbarians. As the feelings which prompted the hero of Acre to enter into this philanthropic cause, are not of a nature to be weakened by the prejudices of his opponents, he will no doubt persevere in following up the arduous task he has commenced, and respectfully urge the importance of carrying the original plan of the Anti-piratic Institution into effect. In doing this he may calculate on the approbation of all good men; and the cabinets of Europe will profit by the society's information, although the forms of office may preclude the possibility of its being publicly recognized. Columbus was more than ten years occupied in persuading the sovereigns of Europe to supply him with ships to go in search of a new world; and it required twenty before the abolition of the slave trade was brought to perfection! Though too late for human happiness, truth is in the end sure to triumph over prejudice; and as the sun dissipates the rising vapours of the lake, so shall the empire of reason be finally established!

The incomparable author of Werter used to call his ideas ravings, until they were realized. Such am I also induced to consider mine with respect to the colonization of northern Africa. If led to entertain a hope of seeing them put into execution, it would be derived from the probable consequences to be deduced from past events, the vicissitudes of the world, and incorrigible nature of the Barbary chiefs, who, from the character of their respective governments, cannot possibly refrain from committing acts of violence, which must, sooner or later, call down the vengeance of united Europe. As men are carried along by events, more frequently than they create them, I am justified in prophesying those which arise from the new aggressions of the Barbary chiefs, will eventually bring about that conviction, which my arguments are incapable of producing. Bernardin de St. Pierre's idea of a perpetual peace, was characterized as the dream of a good man. Such will, I trust, be the name given to my project relative to Africa. At all events, I do not, like Peter the Hermit,

intend to wander barefooted round the world, covered with sackcloth, and carrying a cross on my shoulder for the pious purpose of preaching a modern crusade; nor shall I ever boast of my weak efforts having in any degree influenced the great designs of European cabinets; much less can I repeat with M. Risoller:

J'étois sur un vaisseau quand Ruiter fut tué,
Et j'ai même à sa mort un peu contribué!

Having suffered a little adversity, seen a great deal, and learnt something; in committing my thoughts to paper, I may have the good fortune to contribute in some trifling degree to the amusement of others. It has sometimes happened, that the language of truth, though ushered into the world from humble obscurity, gave rise to useful consequences; as the smallest spark increases to a flame, and the humid vapours of the morning, by ascending to Heaven, add to the splendor of day. Should it be reserved for me to see justice executed, and humanity avenged, the recollection of my sufferings and various losses, will be converted into a source of happiness and even of glory. If, moreover, this weak effort at literary composition should happily conduce to the reader's amusement, or benefit of society, the time it has occupied will be amply repaid.

Si j'ai fait quelque bien, c'est mon plus bel ouvrage!

REMARKS

ON

THE PRESENT STATE OF ITALY.

BY THE EDITOR.

NOTE

REFERRED TO IN PAGE 387.

DURING all the melancholy vicissitudes of Italy, Tuscany seems to have retained a marked superiority over her neighbours. Historians have, with great reason, conjectured, that its aboriginal inhabitants, the Etruscans, were chiefly instrumental in disseminating the first seeds of civilization over Italy, particularly amongst the Romans, who conquered them; and like the Tartars in China, adopted the manners of the vanquished. Although destined to participate in that age of darkness which overwhelmed the Empire, the Tuscans had the distinguished merit of contributing more largely to the revival of letters and a knowledge of the useful arts, than any of their contemporaries. Extending its conquests to every part of the Mediterranean, and even establishing a colony on the shores of the Black Sea, the opulent republic of Pisa kept up a constant intercourse with the Arabs, and other eastern nations, long before the ninth century: hence may easily be traced the rapid progress of the inhabitants towards that improvement which was soon communicated to the rest of Europe. While that constellation of genius, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Machiavelli, Galileo, and many others which grace the literary and scientific annals of Tuscany, between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, when several of the other Italian states had made but a comparatively slow progress in literature, sufficiently proves how much all Europe is indebted to this part of the classical Peninsula.

At a time when the whole of this exuberant region was a prey to contending factions or foreign usurpation, the celebrated family of the Medici, by a rare combination of wealth and talents, contrived to obtain the sovereignty of Tuscany. During three hundred years, which the members of this extraordinary dynasty governed, they were, with great justice, regarded as the benefactors of mankind, and did more for the advancement of science, letters, and the fine arts, than any other family of ancient or modern times. Reflecting on the natural genius of the Florentine character, fostered by numerous libraries and galleries, it is no wonder that they should retain so much of their original character, and be still passionately attached to the tranquil pursuits of literature and the arts. This disposition so manifest in the more enlightened part of the community, has had an extraordinary effect on the manners and customs of the lower classes; who are distinguished by a gentleness of demeanour, and suavity of character, which has excited the surprize and admiration of all travellers. It would, therefore, be a melancholy reflection, if a people pre-eminently endowed with so many inestimable qualities, were not blessed with a corresponding system of government. As it has happened, they have been always more highly gifted in this way than their less fortunate neighbours. But the Florentine code was strongly tinctured with all the barbarism of the feudal system, until the reign of the Grand Duke Leopold, afterwards Joseph the Second, who has probably more claims to the glorious immortality of fame, than any prince that ever reigned. Rising above all the prejudices of the age in which he lived, and surrounded by fanaticism, this truly great man, without the smallest previous solicitation, but purely with a view of bettering the condition of his subjects, promulgated a code of laws, which may, without exaggeration, be considered as a perfect phenomenon in the legislative history of modern times. This admirable proof of human wisdom and legal moderation, includes in less than forty pages, a civil and criminal code, which governed a million of souls for above twenty years, without a single capital punishment!!!*

* While at Florence last winter, the restored government deviated for the first time from this part of Leopold's code, by executing a criminal who had committed several assassinations. This was a very extraordinary event under the administration of a Grand Duke; and gave rise to some most indecorous proceedings on the part of a certain body, who made it the pretext for raising large contributions on the deluded populace, in order, as its emissaries said, to defray the expences of singing

As this precious monument of philanthropy cannot be too highly extolled, and as it is not very generally known, one or two extracts will enable the reader to judge how far my admiration is justified. The introduction, no less estimable for its brief perspicuity than noble frankness, is contained in the following words:—"Ever since our accession to the throne of Tuscany, we have considered the examination and reform of the criminal code, as one of our first duties. Having soon discovered that it was not only too severe, but derived from maxims that were established during the less happy period of the Roman empire, or amidst the turbulent anarchy of subsequent times, and especially inapplicable to the mild character of the nation, our first care was to soften the rigours of the old laws, by issuing decrees and giving instructions to our tribunals; also the promulgation of specific edicts, by which the punishment of death or torture, together with all other pains and penalties which did not bear in exact proportion to the offence, were suspended, until we could, by mature and deliberate consideration, founded on the practical efficacy of the trial thus made, determine on a permanent and entire reform of the civil and criminal laws of our dukedom.

"To the great satisfaction of our paternal heart, we have at length recognized, that the above mitigations of pains and penalties, combined with the utmost vigilance to prevent the commission of crimes, celerity of trial, promptness and certainty of punishing real delinquents; so far from increasing the number of crimes, have considerably diminished the minor ones, and almost entirely removed the more atrocious. Hence we have resolved no longer to defer the reform of our criminal legislation; by which the punishment of death is indefinitely abolished, as not being necessary either for the ends of justice or interests of society in the chastisement of criminals. The farther use of torture is also totally abrogated; and the confiscation of property, as tending, in most cases, to the ruin of innocent families, who have had no share in the delinquency of the accused party. The unnecessary and vexatious multiplication of those crimes which have been improperly called by the name of high treason, and which were punished with a refinement of cruelty invented in the most perverse times, are for ever banished from our statute book."

masses for the salvation of the murderer's soul, and its speedy transfer from purgatory to paradise! If I had not witnessed this singular scene, and heard the sentiments of deep sorrow blended with indignation which it excited amongst the laity, it would be absolutely impossible to persuade me that such a thing could have disgraced the present day.

The above is followed by one hundred and nineteen articles, which seem to provide for every crime that can disturb the peace of society. Founded on mercy, in its utmost latitude, this code possesses the rare merit of combining simplicity, brevity, and perspicuity. Montesquieu has observed, "*je le dirai toujours: c'est la moderation qui gouverne les hommes, et non pas les excés.*" Minutely acting up to this sublime truth, and making it the rule of his conduct, Leopold seems to have been destined by Providence to prove its undeniable infallibility, as a legislative maxim.

In addition to the familiar diction and colloquial simplicity which characterize this curious specimen of modern jurisprudence, above all others in existence, it is distinguished by another quality that cannot be too warmly admired; that of all the important articles being accompanied with specific reasons for their enaction; which, in shewing the equitable motives and honest views of the legislator, carry conviction to the most prejudiced mind, ensuring the approbation of those, who would otherwise be disposed to differ from his conclusions. Who, for instance, after perusing the forty-first article of Leopold's code, would not become a convert to the justice of its reasoning, and even feel a species of personal attachment to the lawgiver? It is couched in these terms:—

"We have seen with horror the extreme facility with which death used to be formerly inflicted, even for crimes of a comparatively trifling magnitude; and having considered that the only object of punishment, should be that of expiating the injury done to individuals, and the public; correcting the guilty person, whose amendment should never be lost sight of, he being a member of the society, and consequently the property of the state; also the security of those, who are convicted of atrocious crimes, by which they are prevented from committing any more; and finally, for the sake of public example: we have besides reflected, that government in the punishment of delinquency, and in order to serve those, on whose sole account it is inflicted, is bound to combine the most efficacious means of obtaining the object in view, with the least possible injury to the aggressor. That both these ends are more effectually attained by condemnation to hard labour for life, than by the punishment of death: the former serving as a perpetual example, while public executions only inspire a momentary terror, that frequently terminates in feelings of compassion towards the guilty. Whereas, the first named penalty removes the possibility of committing new crimes, though not that of seeing a reformed and

useful member restored to the community. Having besides reflected that a very different system of legislation would be more suited to the improved manners and increased civilization of the present age, particularly amongst the people of Tuscany, we have formed the determination of for ever abolishing, and do hereby abolish the punishment of death, against all crimes whatsoever, declared capital by the laws and statutes hitherto promulgated in our dukedom; which are henceforward to all intents and purposes rendered null and void."

If a father wanted to give advice to his children, he could have scarcely adopted a more gentle or affectionate mode of addressing them, than Leopold has, throughout the whole code; but the grand point to be recollected in reading the above enactment, is, that of its being carried into effect for above twenty years, notwithstanding the innumerable obstacles which opposed the legislator on every side! Had not this been the case, and it was merely submitted for the opinion of the public; it would, doubtless, be treated as an idle dream, or mad-brained conception of Utopian happiness. Fortunately for mankind, the great experiment has been made; and succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of its author. And although it was the fate of Leopold to outstrip the age in which he lived, who, amongst the enemies of improvement, or stigmatizers of perfectibility, will venture to maintain that what has been found to answer a million of people in Italy, cannot be applied with equal success, to nations which do not yield to that, either in moral excellence, high sense of virtue, or strong religious belief? Keeping their attention steadily fixed on this most important fact, in the history of modern times; let us hope, that the wise and good amongst our posterity, will not lose sight of the example it furnishes, for improving the happiness, and exalting the condition of human nature.

Unable to resist this opportunity of noticing a prince, who has conferred an incalculable benefit on the human race, by his unprecedented success in simplifying legislation, as well as stripping it of all its terrors; by which he improved the moral habits of a whole nation, I do not feel myself justified in trespassing any longer on the reader's patience, by adverting to the other parts of the code, which bear the same character of mildness, blended with strict justice throughout. Being framed in such a way as to exclude the possibility of chicanery or corruption, no wonder that it should have excited professional clamour; and that its observance should give place to a more

profitable system of legal procedure; in which the "law's delay, and proud man's contumely," have full scope to wear out the patience, and exhaust the substance of innumerable litigants. However, the degeneracy of others only serves to exalt the magnanimous Leopold higher in the estimation of mankind; and if the present Grand Duke only selects advisers of sufficient firmness to meet the legal hydra, he would also immortalize his name, by restoring the admirable code of his predecessor to its original purity; which only wants the establishment of a jury, to be rendered one of the most perfect models of legislative wisdom ever promulgated.

Leopold's panegyric would, however, be incomplete, and justice withheld, were I to terminate this allusion to his criminal code, without a cursory illustration of those minor endeavours to promote human happiness, which points that extraordinary man out as a glorious example to the princes of every country in Europe. Called to the throne of Tuscany in 1765, he reigned for twenty-five years, with no less glory than wisdom: on taking the reins of government, he found a barbarous legislation, loaded with the abuses of preceding ages; an exhausted treasury, and ruined finances; occasioned by mal-administration at home, and the ceaseless avidity of the Austrian cabinet, which had been for many years in the habit of transferring the revenues of the dukedom to Vienna; crimes committed with impunity; public and private depravity at their height; trade destroyed; and mendicity universal. This melancholy state of things, was succeeded in a few years, by good laws, an excellent police, re-establishment of the finances, a diminution of taxes, numerous and well conducted hospitals. Adopting that grand principle which looks rather to the prevention than punishment of crimes, Leopold's modifications in the criminal laws, produced an immediate change in the manners of his people; who, from having been the very offspring of faction and civil tumult, became, under this prince's reign, by far the mildest in Europe; a character which they still retain. In superintending the administration of affairs, neither vigilance nor personal exertions were spared by the Grand Duke to carry his reforms into scrupulous effect: a great portion of his time was devoted to visiting the public prisons, hospitals, and other charitable institutions. Anxious to increase the prosperity of his kingdom, he not only diminished the number of feast days and religious processions, which had been formerly so injurious to public industry, but removed every obstacle calculated to impede commerce; which, he said, might be compared to rivers,

that when impeded in their course, either produced stagnation or floods. Numerous roads were made, bridges built, and manufactures established; improvements which soon rendered Tuscany one of the most flourishing countries in the world. Equally enthusiastic in the cause of learning, science, and the fine arts, Leopold was ever the first to extend his protection and patronage to men of genius. The Academy of Sciences, which had given such a number of great men to the world, occupied his peculiar care; and from having gone into comparative disrepute, regained all its original splendor under the fostering hand of this beneficent sovereign. The public exhibition of pictures, and other works of art, which had also been discontinued for many years, was renewed by a specific ordonnance, and an excellent school of design established in the place of exposition. He also added very considerably to the Florentine Gallery, already the finest in the world; and enriched the Pitti Collection with a number of exquisite cabinet pictures from the first Italian masters.

So benevolent was the exalted nature of this prince, that he conceived, and nearly executed the sublime project of extirpating mendicity throughout the dukedom. The Florentines are accused, and I fear with some justice, of having suffered a strong feeling of avarice to impede that great design; but it does not diminish Leopold's glory, in attempting that, which still baffles all the efforts of modern legislators. It also deserves to be particularly recorded, that Leopold's palace was thrown open three days in each week to the poor of every age and distinction!

Those who have devoted a little time to the study of human nature, will not be surprized to hear that this great man had his enemies and opposers; but it is unnecessary to inform the readers of what kind of people these were composed. There is unhappily a class of persons in every country whose self-love and egotism persuade them, contrary to the dictates of religion and virtue, that they have an interest in resisting any design for the encouragement of either; but all attempts to misrepresent his views or cramp his ardour, were so many additional inducements to stimulate Leopold's efforts in the cause of humanity. It is the peculiar attribute of great minds to be impelled onwards in proportion to the difficulties they encounter, as the velocity of natural bodies is increased by repulsion: this analogy does not arise from accidental causes; it is a gift from the Divinity, without which chaos would soon overwhelm the physical as well as the moral order of the world.

There is probably no office on earth more liable to the abuse and ingratitude of mankind, than a reformer of public manners: it is not, therefore, any matter of surprize, that Leopold should have drawn down the disapprobation of the very worst portion of the community. But as there was some difficulty in finding out a source of real complaint, this great prince was reproached with exercising a species of authority which was incompatible with personal liberty: this arose from a system of domestic espionage, which the Grand Duke is said to have adopted as the most effectual means of preventing crimes; and although this was never exerted to the injury of a single individual, or known to disturb the harmony of one solitary family, I am willing to admit, it is liable to many objections as a legislative principle. But considering the dreadfully corrupt state of private morals, which are in all societies the primary cause of public delinquency, that disgraced the manners of Tuscany on Leopold's accession, he well knew there was not the most distant probability of succeeding in his gigantic undertaking, without striking at the very root of the evil: and if ever the principle of expediency, which has been carried to such great lengths in other countries can bear an overstrained application, it is certainly where a prince forms the heroic determination of rendering his subjects happy, by making them more virtuous. The whole tenor of Leopold's government and laws, will bear me out in asserting, that he had no other object, in whatever he undertook during his prosperous reign. The natural enemy of war, there was scarcely any military establishment in his time; and when once told, that he had too many spies, the Grand Duke replied, "perhaps so; but then recollect I have no troops!"

From the little knowledge I possess of the Italian character, I am positive that no system of legislation, however perfect, can be rendered permanently useful to the people of Italy, if unaccompanied by a reformation of manners: these, it is most gratifying to reflect, are in a state of progressive amelioration; but a Herculean task still remains untried; and if the necessary degree of improvement can be acquired without the aid of such auxiliaries as Leopold employed, so much the better: on the other hand, he would be a frigid moralist, and no friend to virtue, who did not cordially approve of any proceeding which went to re-establish purity of manners, and a just sense of moral obligation, where both have degenerated to a degree that none can imagine except those who have witnessed them. In summing up the character of Leopold, there is no doubt that he had faults; but these cannot be judged

with perfect impartiality, without the examination of facts, and a minute attention to the cause and effect of his ordinances for the government of Tuscany. In my humble estimation his political errors leant so much to the side of virtue as scarcely to deserve that appellation; and what ruler of any age or country, can boast of having governed a million of human beings for twenty-five years, during two thirds of which a public execution never took place in his dominions?*

Notwithstanding the various political changes resulting from the French revolution, by which Tuscany shared the fate of other Italian states, and became for a time attached to the overgrown empire of France, the reforms of Leopold were established on too firm a basis to be shaken by all the effects of revolutionary anarchy; and though transferred to a variety of masters during the late struggle, those who have visited the dukedom since the restoration of peace, can easily perceive the immense benefits it has derived from the operation of former laws. And however numerous the deviations from Leopold's code may have been, it is no more than just to confess that the reigning Grand Duke has, ever since his return, shewn every disposition to embrace any plan proposed by his ministers, either for the relief of the indigent or encouragement of trade. Many abuses are, however, said to have crept into the administration of the civil and criminal codes; and wherever due care is not taken to correct these, a country must decline in morals and prosperity. With a people who have such a strong tendency to virtue, and are justly celebrated for their mild and amiable manners, the Grand Duke has every inducement to follow up the system of his great predecessor; in doing which he will not only be consummating the happiness of his subjects, but holding out a most salutary example to the rest of Europe.

Independently of my anxiety to do justice to the memory of a great man,

* Succeeding to the imperial crown of Austria in 1790, as Joseph the Second, the Grand Duke soon began to display his talents for government in that country; and in less than two years restored the empire to an unprecedented degree of power and prosperity. Intimately acquainted with European politics, a peace was brought about between Russia and the Turks, the Low Countries recovered, and a close alliance formed with England and Prussia. The French, who are seldom backward in adding to our political sins, give us the credit of having persuaded the Emperor to declare against the revolutionary faction, in 1792, when he was about to join the allies; but dying as many have conjectured by poison, in the same year, the destinies of Austria were left in the hands of his successor, the present Emperor.

and pointing him out to the imitation of succeeding sovereigns, the foregoing cursory observations on the people of Tuscany, serve to illustrate the influence of laws and government on the character of a nation, while they unequivocally prove, that if the moral and political condition of the rest of Italy be inferior to that of Tuscany, the cause can alone be found in the nature of their respective institutions. I need scarcely add, that it is of the first importance that those who may be called upon to legislate for this interesting quarter, should infer the capability of the Italians to become a virtuous and happy people, from the wonderful effect of wise laws and good government in the Florentine territory; for although it has not escaped that degeneracy of domestic habits, which the continuance of an imperfect legislation, operating on a warm temperament, has introduced all over Italy, nothing can be more striking than the distinctions to be observed between a Tuscan, and his nearest neighbour of Rome, Bologna, or Genoa. While the most superficial reasoner has only to recollect the nature of their former governments; and the surprize so naturally excited by this singular diversity of character, is immediately accounted for. There may, indeed, be certain traits of nationality derived either from local circumstances, or incidents connected with the remote periods of Italian history peculiar to each state; but the moral attributes of the people have all arisen out of modern legislation and government, whether imposed by native princes or the arm of foreign conquest. It has also been very justly said, that the errors of no people in the world are less liable to censure than those of Italy; who, as observed by Madame de Staël, has been constantly reproached by the rest of Europe, for imperfections, which are the inevitable consequences of its own aggressions and violence. Such, in fact, has been the unjust and barbarous policy exercised towards Italy ever since the invasion of Charles the Eighth, that the inhabitants have never had an opportunity of bettering their situation, or adopting liberal forms of government. In return for the arts, sciences, letters and civilization of every kind, derived from Italy, the contending princes of France and Austria have never ceased to regard that unhappy country as a legitimate bone of contention: hence a series of sanguinary and unprofitable wars, which have accumulated every species of misery on the oppressed; while the utmost benefit accruing to the oppressors, was merely that of aggrandizing one or two families, or gaining a few temporary advantages, destined to be lost with ignominy in a succeeding campaign. Such were the bitter fruits of all those

fatal contests that preceded the revolution; but as these had their origin in a system of politics, which that tremendous event will no doubt be the means of finally exploding, it would be of little use to deplore what can only be remedied by the adoption of a wiser course for the future. In naming the revolution, I do not mean to panegyrise either the actors or authors of that dreadful tragedy. I merely consider it as marking a particular epoch, which gave rise to an intellectual revolution, that must influence the condition of mankind, when the atrocities which have rendered it the abhorrence of all good men are forgotten. This grand change in the human mind, by which the reflecting part of the community seems to have been considerably elevated in the scale of being, has not been experienced in a greater degree by any nation than amongst the people of Italy; whose natural genius, and characteristic susceptibility of knowledge, peculiarly fitted them for an intuitive advance towards perfection, which nothing less than the most impressive lessons could have taught the people of other countries. If any argument were wanting to prove the superiority of Italian moralists and philosophers over those of France and other nations, it would be furnished by the sober reasonings of such men as Beccaria and Filangieri, while their contemporaries in neighbouring countries were malignantly occupied in accusing Christianity as the cause of those errors which arose from the natural order of society. Destined, however, to participate in the war of destruction, which followed the pacific declarations of those who preached up perpetual peace, equality, and the rights of man as their creed, a few years saw this country annexed to France, and the asserters of human liberty, finished by enslaving Italy as well as every other country they could lay their rapacious claws on, no matter whether it was gained by violence or diplomatic subterfuge. It was thus, that after ages of contention, during which this persecuted region became the prey of the strongest party, all its misfortunes were destined to be revived in a war commenced for the express purpose of guaranteeing the independence and integrity of nations; and the peace of Luneville left it in no better state than at all the former periods of its history: so that if no other cause of hostility occurred, the clashing interests of the contending rivals for power in Italy were sure to bring them about. The conduct of Buonaparté, in declaring himself president of the Cisalpine republic, contributed very materially to the peace of Amiens being broken: this naturally led to another desperate struggle in Italy, during which the people, who felt no interest in the contest, betrayed a perfect indifference for the interests of

either party. The despotism established by the military leader of France, having enabled him to triumph over the arms of Austria, his unvarying maxim of *la lois de plus fort*, was instantly applied to the whole Peninsula, which in some shape or another was appropriated by the Gallic chief. The apparent willingness of the Italians to co-operate in the wars of Napoleon, originated partly in necessity, and partly from choice: either too weak or incapable of uniting for common defence, their natural anxiety to become a nation, pointed out the importance of obeying the conqueror; and there existing a much greater degree of sympathy between them and France than with Austria, the additional claim obtained by conquest enabled the ruler of France to take full advantage of this disposition. The thorough detestation in which their new oppressors were held till the moment of their expulsion in 1814, proves that the obedience of Italy arose more from an attachment to their own country, than any wish of contributing to the aggrandizement of France; and this is a fact which will always redound to the honour of the Italian people, while it shews the extreme facility with which an able monarch can at any time convert the present discordant heptarchy into a great and united people. Comparing the policy of Austria and France, they saw that one of these powers wished to possess Italy merely for the purpose of adding to its physical strength, and increasing its military glory; while past experience taught them that the other regarded it as a regular patrimony, which was to supply the pecuniary wants and enrich the conquerors, without conferring the smallest benefit on the conquered.

It is a fact, which might be proved by incontestible evidence, that long previous to that memorable display of public opinion, the first simultaneous proof given by all the people of Europe, in favour of what are very properly termed *les idées liberales*, Italy panted for emancipation from the yoke of France; and the reform of many abuses, introduction of the Code Napoleon, and other arrangements in favour of its prosperity, only tended to render the desire of freedom, imbibed by recent reflection, more indispensable than ever. This general feeling, merely a ramification of that which animated all Europe, was more particularly evinced in the little support afforded to Beauharnois; who, if personal merit had been likely to ensure success, might have calculated on universal support from the people; whereas his army was latterly reduced by desertion and other causes to a mere skeleton. Impressed by a firm belief that a totally new division of political power was to result from Buonaparté's expulsion, in which the independence and integrity

of Italy was to form a prominent feature, the whole population from Cape Sparta-vento to the borders of the Lake Maggiore, joined in the general burst of exultation, and were ready to sacrifice life itself, in the joyous prospect of seeing Italy converted into a nation, and its liberty established. It was during an unrestrained indulgence of those feelings, to which this universal wish gave rise, that the peace of Paris was concluded; and as people do not like to lose sight of the most distant hope of seeing their favourite object accomplished, no wonder if the Italians should have clung to that of witnessing the long expected event announced, until the Congress of Vienna decided their fate, by making the country more dependent and divided than it ever was at any former period. Those who feel an interest in the fate of Italy, and are disposed to consider the subject in its manifold bearings, will no doubt allow, that since the decline of the Roman Empire, when it was mistress of the world, a more important circumstance has not marked Italian history. At the moment when a new era in the human mind, aided by a concatenation of events, unprecedented in the annals of the universe, seemed to have prepared the people for a totally different order of things, by which they could alone hope to recover some portion of their former glory or obtain present happiness, the wisdom of the Congress ordained matters differently; and Italy is left to deplore the establishment of a system, so entirely in opposition to the progress of knowledge and popular notions on political arrangements, that while it destroys all hopes of prosperity amongst themselves, neither promises peace to Europe, or real advantage of any kind to those concerned.

With respect to the arrangements which emanated from the above august assembly, they have already been discussed by several writers. The sovereigns and statesmen who met on that memorable occasion to secure the happiness and tranquillity of Europe, no doubt acted from motives of sincerity, and to the best of their judgments, and neither invective or personality can alter what has happened. If it should now be found that the new partition of the Italian states has either disappointed the hopes of Europe, or laid the seeds of future wars, it is the part of wisdom to exhort the sovereigns about to assemble, to extend their paternal solicitude towards the many millions who look up to them for liberty and happiness, by a revision of former arrangements. A momentous importance is naturally attached to this approximation of the greatest monarchs in the universe; and I feel confident they will not separate without

the performance of some grand act of beneficence, which would silence the enemies of legitimate government, much more effectually than myriads of armed men. In addressing the august sovereigns about to meet in Germany, the whole people of Italy may with great propriety adopt the language of M. Brignole, who in his remonstrance to the last Congress against the cession of Genoa, eloquently observes,

" La promesse faite à la face de l'Europe ébranlée sur ses anciennes bases, de retablir ce qui avait été detruit, et de rendre aux etats opprimès leurs forces premières, et leur independance ; n'a pu etre faite en vain ; la main qui leur a été tendue pour les relever, et les garantir à jamais d'une nouvelle oppression, ne saurait leur être retirée sans dechirer et fouler aux pieds l'une des plus belles pages de l'histoire ! Elle implore la bonté, elle reclame la justice, et les promesses memorables des hautes puissances allies.

" Les villes de Chaumont, et de Chatillon sur Seine retentissent encore de ces nobles assurances, que les nations respecteraient leur independance, qu'on ne leverait plus d'edifice politique sur les ruines des etats jadis independants, et heureux ; que l'alliance des monarques les plus puissants de la terre avait pour but de prevenir les envahissements, qui depuis tant d'années ont desolé le monde, et qu' enfin une paix generale digne fruit de leur alliance, et des leurs victoires assurerait la droit, l'independance, et la liberté de toutes les nations !"

How truly does this philosophical paper add: " La puissance ne se mesure point par l'etendue des etats, mais plutôt par l'attachement, et la fidelité des peuples !"

As a very limited view of Italian politics past and present, would not only require a greater share of talent for illustration, and more extensive materials than I possess, it would be in vain to attempt a minute examination of those incidents which have occurred since 1814: the whole must, however, occupy the future historian's attention as they have excited reflections of the most important description all over Europe.* Amongst the direful consequences of twenty-five years hostility, the genius of Venice, Lombardy, Genoa, Parma, Rome and Naples, will dictate the melancholy truths of their past wrongs: these cannot fail to move the hearts, and excite the sympathy

* Mr. Scott, the distinguished author of a Visit to Paris, and one of the best political writers of the day, is said to be occupied in writing a work on Italy; a task to which, I should imagine, none could do more justice.

of succeeding generations; who, suffering from the errors of their forefathers, may see the necessity of applying the only true remedy, that of guaranteeing the exclusive natural rights of nations, and making them subservient to each other, not by injustice or violence, but from motives of generosity, and a mutual sense of common interest.

In a note, which has already extended far beyond the original intention, there are many observations, as interesting to the people of Italy as they are to the best interests of Europe necessarily omitted. A most important volume might be written on the strange events that have followed the annexation of Genoa to Piedmont; and the unaccountable policy which leads the ministers of his Sardinian majesty to treat this important acquisition more like a conquered country, than a territory ceded by the allied powers.* Another might be filled with an account of the degraded and impoverished state of Venice, the former capital of a great country, without a ship to be seen in its once flourishing port, and the streets crowded with beggars. A third would be most usefully compiled in detailing the policy of that cabinet, which seems to have taken the whole of Italy under its immediate protection, considering it rather as an imperial fief, than a country whose misfortunes, civil, political, and historical, are entitled to commiseration and respect. This volume might also contain some reasons, why every device which ingenuity can suggest, or avarice stimulate, should have converted Italy into a patrimonial depôt for any other country, particularly one that has resources within itself to answer every purpose of national want! Independent of the innumerable other topics, of no less importance, which would occupy the attention of any one who sat down to describe the present state of Italy, he could scarcely refrain from asking whether it is not more adviseable, to gain the affections of the Italian states by a gradual introduction of liberal institutions, and the encouragement of salutary reforms in the civil and criminal codes of the different governments, than pursuing a system which is not likely to produce any of these blessings? That, if the new arrangements of Europe precluded the possibility of declaring Italy independent, and placing the Archduke Charles, or some other equally distinguished prince on the newly established kingdom, some little extension of civil liberty, partaking of the representative

* While at Genoa in the month of July, the number of troops there amounted to eleven thousand; such is the garrison which was thought necessary in a period of profound peace!

system, might have been accorded to the inhabitants: this, in the absence of a greater boon, would have done wonders towards reconciling the people, while it proved that they were not entirely forgotten in the general distribution of political power. A measure of this kind would have been neither incompatible with the internal tranquillity of the country, nor the interests of Europe: on the contrary, the wisest heads in Italy will agree with me in asserting, that they would have operated wonderfully in favour of legitimate government. The fourth volume of memoirs on the state of Italy, would describe those events which have marked the return of his Neapolitan majesty to Naples, also the exact nature of the relations which exist between that country and Austria; and it might give some reason why the faction who opposed the generous efforts of England to give liberty and a constitution to Sicily, were now highest in favour at that court? The remainder of this volume would naturally enough be occupied in detailing the entrance of his holiness the Pope into Rome, his restoration to *temporal sovereignty*, and those pious efforts which have been made to re-establish convents and religious houses all over the Papal territory, after the funds which had formerly supported them had been swallowed up by the French authorities; how mendicity has become almost universal in the capital of the ancient world; and, finally, why the communication between Naples and Rome has been infested with banditti, which has rendered that journey highly dangerous, ever since the re-establishment of social order? * A work

* In having thus noticed the affairs of Rome, far be it from me to cast any reflection on his holiness Pius the Seventh, who is perhaps one of the most amiable, and I may add, unexceptionable prelates that ever occupied the chair of St. Peter. The manly and heroic fortitude with which this virtuous sovereign bore the oppression of Napoleon Buonaparté, and resisted his tyranny, entitle him to the utmost admiration; but his holiness has higher claims to public applause. These are derived from the most persevering attentions to the duties of his high office; to which is added a simplicity of living which would do honour to a patriarch. Nor is it any trifling circumstance in favour of the Holy Father, that he should have chosen such a minister as the Cardinal Gonsalvi. This enlightened and liberal man, has done an infinity of good; but the evils of Rome are those of all Italy, and lay by far too deep for the remedies of any single person.

Amongst that phalanx of cardinals who attended the conclaves that used to assemble after the Pope's return to Rome, there were some in that sanctified body who proposed that all the imposts and other duties paid, previous to the seizure of the Papal states, should be renewed as if nothing had happened. To this strange proposition the Cardinal Gonsalvi replied: "Very well, gentlemen, I have no objection whatever; but you have forgotten one little circumstance which must precede this plan; that of placing every thing precisely on the same footing it was in 1796." Amongst other

explanatory of all these things would, I venture to assert, be one of the most important literary productions any person could undertake to furnish; and so far from being injurious to the interests of those who govern in Italy, I have great reason to believe, that nothing less than such an exposition will ever lead to those modifications in the civil and political administration of affairs in that country, which are most likely to prevent consequences that may disturb the public tranquillity more generally than has yet taken place, or some people expect; and however unthankful the office of telling the truth may appear to the statesmen of foreign countries, they cannot be ignorant that the liberty of disseminating it freely in England, has not only enabled her to prevent Europe from being involved in one destructive revolution, but carried ourselves through difficulties and dangers which no other nation of former times ever survived.

Adverting to the state of manners in Italy, which many oppose as a total bar to political regeneration; I regret to say that, to reform these, will not be the least difficult task of a legislator. A proper application of Mr. Bentham's principle of utility, would shew the people of Italy that sound morals are the indispensable companions of good government, while the united operation of time and perseverance must also produce a great change in the present system. If any spirited writer of the country was to arise and boldly proscribe *cicisbeoism*, he might certainly stand a chance of sharing the fate of Orpheus. But from the rapidly increasing progress of knowledge, and constant

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provident arrangements for the good of the church, I was confidently informed, that several sisterhoods and fraternities were appointed to re-open convents and monasteries, of which little more than the walls were standing; and whose possessions had all been seized twenty years before. In the rage for patronage no less than three governors were sent down to one city on the Adriatic coast!

With respect to the superannuated and decayed members of the church, their case is one of the greatest hardship; for although discouraged from pursuing their religious calling by the French, a pension was allowed to each individual, male or female, who had been attached to any of the convents. This, which had been regularly paid before the evacuation of the French, was nearly a twelvemonth in arrears last year, and had occasioned the utmost distress amongst these poor people.

It is usually believed in the best informed Italian circles, that Pius the Seventh is the last pontiff who will possess temporal power. And moreover, that the Austrian cabinet has determined to appropriate the Papal territories, as it has that of Lombardy and Venice. It was in vain that I attempted to reason several most intelligent individuals out of this monstrous supposition; and after many arguments to prove that neither England or France could accede to any farther extension of the Austrian dominion in Italy, the only acquiescence I could obtain was confined to *vedremo amico!* "we shall see, my friend."

intercourse with England, which are both very evidently operating in the better informed circles of Rome and Florence, I have no doubt whatever but this first step towards a release from domestic degradation would be soon effected. Bologna, which overflows with talent and learning of every kind, will soon follow the example of her old rival. And as to Milan and Venice, they could not be indifferent to a change, without which, it is grossly absurd for the inhabitants to look for political freedom or civil liberty, while sons and daughters are brought up without any sense of these inestimable blessings. To those who smile at this hint, it may be necessary to explain that I am not finding fault with those acts of polite gallantry which are justified by the most scrupulous laws of honour and decorum, when I express a wish of seeing the *Caveliere servente* of Italy kicked down stairs, as the first preliminary to acquiring real liberty. My observations extend to that detestable class of individuals, who are openly received by all the members of an Italian family, as the known and even avowed paramour of the mother; while the degenerate father is occupied in dancing attendance on some other female. The author of Corinna observes on this subject: "Trois ou quatre hommes, sous des titres différens, suivent la même femme, qui les mène avec élle, sans se donner quelquefois même la peine de dire leur nom au maitre de la maison qui les reçoit; l'un est la préféré, l'autre celui qui aspire à l'être, un troisième s'appelle le souffrant *il patito*; celui-là est tout-à-fait dédaigné, mais on lui permet cependant de faire le service d'adorateur; et tous ces rivaux vivent paisiblement ensemble." I do not mean to say that this is the general practice in Italy or any other country; but I may be allowed to assert, that wherever such a system is tolerated, it is in vain for the people to expect liberty. The great Machiavelli, whose authority is justly venerated by all unprejudiced Italians, observes, that it is almost impossible for any laws, however perfect, to reform a state, where depravity has become general; for as good manners cannot subsist without good laws, so those laws cannot be put into effect without a corresponding purity of manners.*

* Perchè non si trovano mè leggi nè ordini che bastino a frenare un universale corruzione; perchè così come gli buoni costumi per mantenersi hanno bisogno delle leggi, così le legge per osservarsi hanno bisogno dei buoni costumi. *Discorsi, L.* 1. *c.* xviii.

The too prevalent custom of dwelling on the worst side of a question, has perhaps never been exercised so much to the injury of society than in the case of this extraordinary writer, whose "*Principe*," has furnished a subject of controversy for three hundred years, thereby creating the mischief

In pointing out the necessity of the periodical writers, of whom there is a great number, turning their serious attention to the best mode of promoting a reformation of many practices which militate so strongly against the hopes of Italian liberty, I feel perfectly satisfied, their efforts must be aided by the establishment of sumptuary laws, otherwise there could be very little effect produced from the mere suggestions of literary men: and if the clergy could be persuaded to appeal to the understandings instead of the passions of the multitude, another powerful auxiliary might be obtained in that extensive body. Were all these levers put into action, there is no doubt of the result; for the people of Italy possess many qualities, which prove them to be most anxious for a radical change in the condition of their country.

Of the few political writers who have touched on those arrangements by which Austria has obtained such amazing influence in Italian affairs, none have done more justice to the subject than the Abbé de Pradt; who, notwithstanding his being loaded with abuse by those who think differently, has furnished an admirable chapter on the state of this country, in his luminous work on the Congress of Vienna, a book replete throughout, with important and inte-

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which it was intended to avert, while the real intention of the author has been misconstrued, and the antidotes contained in his other works, if not totally disregarded, have neither been duly appreciated, or properly brought before the public. This can alone account for the singular fact, that out of a hundred people who have read the "Prince," we scarcely meet five who have thought the Discourses on Livy worth their perusal! It was reserved for the present age, fertile as it has been, in events calculated to call political and legislative reasoning of every kind into action, to estimate the real and permanent benefit which such writers as Machiavelli are destined to confer on posterity. Like many of his successors in the perilous career of truth, the Florentine secretary wrote for a state of perfection in moral and political science, at which we are even now far from having reached. But it is to be hoped we are progressively advancing towards it: the Divinity has been abundantly kind in shedding its light on the world, through such men as Machiavelli, Bacon, Grotius, Beccaria, Filangieri, Montesquieu, Bentham, and others: nor is it the fault of a superior power, that we should have taken so little advantage of its beneficent gifts. The ordeal of truth is long and painful; and I am one of those, who endeavours to console himself for present evils, in the bright hope of posterity's seeing it sublimely triumphant. What a poor and contemptible notion that being must have formed of things, who supposes it is the natural state of man to live by rendering his fellow creatures miserable; or that we were always to be occupied in promoting the mutual hostility of nations! I confess that while people continue to regard this principle as the basis of human action, and feel satisfied that we are incapable of improvement, because we do not deserve it, there is no trifling room for despondency. But in the midst of that chaos of conflicting opinions, and rival interests which still continue to harass mankind, there is an occasional ray of light which brings hope and consolation to the coldest heart. And although I do not anticipate the time, when a

resting matter: without any desire of becoming the ex-bishop of Maline's panegyrist, or interfering with his former politics, I think his elucidation of European affairs, as developed in the above work, and more recent exertions to serve the cause of independence in America, merit the highest praise. If political apostasy is to be forgiven in any one, it should surely be extended to those who have been borne along by the revolutionary torrent.

This testimony of applause in favour of the Abbé, is of course only extended to his reasonings generally. Like most other political writers, his opinions are of course occasionally liable to objection. I am, for instance, totally at issue with the ex-bishop, where he proposes that the crown of Italy should be given to the king of Sardinia, merely because the latter happened to be the descendant of Victor Amadeus: this would certainly strengthen the claim of many princes; but, when the Abbé reflects on the order of things which has followed the restoration of his present majesty to his Piedmontese dominions, I feel satisfied, he will have no reason to lament that his scheme in favour of this sovereign, was not put into execution. Without quite so large a share of sympathy for the Pope's *temporal* sovereignty, I know how

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farmer has only to order his plough into the field to be instantly obeyed, or kings' messengers can save their travelling expences by flying to Vienna or St. Petersburgh, I will never resign my belief that an infinitely larger share of happiness is within our reach than we have ever yet attained; while analogy and fact convince me that a power has arisen in the civilized world, which is destined, sooner or later, greatly to improve the condition of our nature.

To return from this digression, I am aware that those who have formed their judgment of Machiavelli from the opinions of the philosophic king and his coadjutor of Ferney, will be somewhat startled at my having placed his name next to that of Lord Bacon, who thought very differently of his predecessor to some modern writers. In justification of this circumstance, I have merely to observe that I do not think the "Prince" has ever formed a single tyrant, or rendered those who were predetermined to afflict mankind, more iniquitous; while I am prepared to shew, that the works of no writer furnish a more unexceptionable body of maxims, in favour of religion, morality, and good government, than those of Niccolò Machiavelli. Mr. Roscoe, who has devoted a couple of pages to the examination and estimate of the Florentine secretary's writings, observes rather quaintly, I think, that "Machiavelli was an acute *man*; but not a great man." Leo X. vol. iv. p. 228.

In drawing a very different conclusion from the perusal of his works to that of the above ingenious writer, who has I fear been rather too much influenced in his judgment by the enemies of Machiavelli; I am much more disposed to admire the impartiality of Dr. Brown, an eloquent writer of the last century, who, after having drawn a most able comparison between him and Montesquieu, thus concludes, "Both were the friends of freedom and mankind; both superior to the genius of their time and country; both truly great: the Florentine severe and great; the Frenchman great and amiable."

to admire those principles which very properly attach M. de Pradt to the interests of his ecclesiastical master: nearly all the other parts of the chapter alluded to, are, however, unanswerable, and cannot be too often read by those statesmen, who are on any future occasion called upon to decide the political fate of Italy. But, after having so ably demonstrated the errors of Napoleon with respect to that country, the inutility of making it an integral part of the colossal empire, and benefits arising to the Italians from its temporary occupation by France; how justly he deplores the fatal blunder of Buonaparté's not establishing the independence of Northern Italy, and importance of a federal union between the different states. A variety of minor observations are followed by an admirable exposition of the consequences which result to the people from the present state of things, and plead the cause of Italy so powerfully that I cannot resist quoting the original, in the hope of its once more attracting the notice of foreign diplomatists.

"Avoir négligé cet établissement, c'est avoir manqué le système de l'Europe, c'est lui avoir donné une fausse allure, c'est avoir paralysé une de ses parties les plus importantes; c'est avoir créé de fréquens sujets de guerre pour l'Europe; c'est avoir créé pour l'Autriche même de grands embarras, en lui donnant celui de garder une grande masse de sujets d'une affection douteuse; c'est avoir créé pour l'Italie des sujets d'éternelles douleurs.

"Si l'on ne peut refuser de l'intérêt à tout peuple qui perd son souverain et sa souveraineté, à qui devoit-on un plus tendre intérêt qu'aux Italiens? L'aurore de la liberté venoit de luire pour eux; ses premières clartés avoient éclairé un changement total sur ce sol si long-temps chargé de chaînes étrangères. Les Italiens, réunis dans la même famille, avoient mis en commun leurs affections, et paroissoient avec gloire sur la scène du monde, d'où ils avoient été si long-temps exclus. Introduits dans la grande famille Européenne, ils avoient montré qu'ils ne le cédoient à aucun de ses membres, et que leurs talens pouvoient s'élever aux sujets les plus importans, comme descendre à ceux que le luxe consacre aux plus frivoles jouissances, et voilà qu'on leur ravit ce bonheur naissant, leur existence personnelle, le soin de leurs propres affaires. Leur or, les fruits de leurs sueurs, de leur laborieuse ou riante industrie, devront être partagés entre eux et des étrangers. Ce ne sera pas à défendre l'accès de leurs superbes contrées que leurs bras seront exclusivement employés, il faudra encore que les enfans de l'Italie aillent défendre

Téneswal et Cracovie, combattre les Russes, les Prussiens et les Turcs. Ah! si l'on plaint les Saxons, il faut plaindre encore plus les Italiens. Le Saxon habite un pays semblable à la Prusse; il parle la même langue, il partage les mêmes goûts; c'est un Allemand comme le Prussien, sous une domination différente, il est vrai, mais enfin c'est toujours un Allemand, au lieu que l'Italien n'est ni Hongrois, ni Allemand, ni Polonois. Né sous un autre ciel, frappé d'autres objets en naissant, il faut que l'Italien accoutume son oreille à la rudesse des langues Allemandes et esclavonnes, qu'il commande à ses yeux et à tous les sens de n'être pas trop offensés de la grossièreté des lieux qu'il habite, ni des usages qu'il rencontre. Voilà le peuple qui réclamoit l'intérêt de l'Europe et celui du Congrès. C'est là qu'étoient les profondes et éternelles douleurs!

"L'Italie s'est prononcée contre l'attribution que l'Autriche entendoit s'en faire. Il faut que celle-ci y prenne garde; cette Italie qu'elle s'adjuge si facilement, n'est plus la Lombardie qu'elle possédoit depuis à peu près un siècle: alors elle n'avoit pas Venise, dont la réunion avec le Milanez forme une masse de puissance et de population qui équivaut au volume d'une nation. Les Italiens d'aujourd'hui ne sont plus les Milanois, les Vénitiens, les Gênois de il y a vingt ans. Là, comme partout, et peut-être plus qu'ailleurs; tout est changé: l'Italie sommeilloit, elle s'est réveillée. Les Italiens n'avoient pas encore goût deé l'indépendance; on leur a ouvert une nouvelle existence, un nouvel univers, et l'on vient les en déshériter au moment où il commençoient d'en savourer les douceurs. Ils se sentent soutenus par les sentimens qui vivent dans le cœur de tous leurs frères, comme dans celui des hommes généreux de tous les pays, ils se sont comptés, ils ont paru avec honneur dans les champs de la guerre, ils sentent qu'ils ont en eux-mêmes tout ce qui constitue et ennoblit les nations: ils en ont fait l'expérience, et ils se trouveroient au service de maîtres avec lesquels ils ne se regardent comme inférieurs sous aucun rapport! Les Italiens ont laissé percer leur aversion pour le joug qu'on leur a imposé. Le sentiment de l'indépendance a fait de si grands progrès dans cette contrée, que, dans la suite des temps, il pourroit bien résulter, de la gêne qu'on lui fait subir actuellement, une réunion générale de l'Italie dans une seule et même souveraineté. Le besoin de mettre un terme à toutes ces vexations, de cesser de servir d'aliment à la cupidité des uns aux vues intéressées des autres, pourroit bien amener les Italiens à une révolution à laquelle,

hors quelques intéressés, l'univers applaudiroit. Elle étoit entre les mains de Napoléon, mais il a fait de cette étoffe comme de tant d'autres."

Such is the Abbé de Pradt's eloquent appeal in favour of Italy, than which a more energetic one has never been made by any writer of the present day; nor are the closing remarks of the same chapter less worthy of deep attention. Indeed, I am of opinion that every line of it deserves to be printed in letters of gold!*

Having in a former part of this note, alluded to the intellectual revolution which has taken place in Italy in common with the rest of Europe, I wish that observation to be considered as only embracing the higher classes of society, clergy, and learned professions: these may be called the nation in Italy; whereas, when that term is applied to our own country in a similar sense, it includes nearly two thirds of the whole population, who are all better informed than a tenth part of that proportion of the people in any other country on earth. The great mass of the Italian population has no means whatever of acquiring information, and must of course continue in its present state of ignorance, until a system of public education accompanies the other improve-

* The political wrongs of Italy were never illustrated with more force and pathos, than in the beautiful sonnets of *Filicaja*, a poet of Tuscany, who flourished in the early part of the last century. One of these, which is justly celebrated in Italy, may serve to give an idea of the rest, while it affords a fair specimen of the energy of which this style of composition is capable.

Italia, Italia! O tu, cui feo la sorte
Donno infelice di bellezza, onde hai
Funesta dote d'infinita guai
Che in fronte scritti per gran doglia porte.
Deh fossi tu men bella, o almen piu forte
Onde assai piu ti spaventasse, o assai
T'amasse men chi del tuo bello a i rai
Par, che si strugga, e per ti sfida a morte.
Che or giù dall' Alpi non vedrei torrenti
Scender d'armati, nè di sangue tinta
Bever l'onda del Pò Gallici armenti;
Nè te vedrei del non tuo ferro cinta
Pugnar col braccio di Straniere genti
PER SERVIR SEMPRE O VINCITRICE, O VINTA!

ments called for by the anxious wishes of the country. Although book-societies are not prevalent, the spirit of research and fondness for reading has become very general: this is cherished by some valuable periodical publications. Of newspapers they cannot boast quite so much, all being under a most rigid censure. It is, however, extremely creditable to the Austrian government of Lombardy, that so liberal a paper as the *Giornale di Milano* should be tolerated: this generally contains copious extracts from our opposition papers, and the editor has been very active in promoting the South American cause. The weekly paper of Genoa is completely tied up in its politics; and though very well disposed, the learned editor can seldom venture beyond a dry detail of passing events. Of all the papers circulated in Italy, that of Lugano, on the Swiss side of the Lake of Como, is by far the most distinguished for liberality and freedom of sentiment. As Switzerland has always been contributing in some way or another to the benefit of Europe, the conductor of this very spirited journal seems to have taken up his station on the frontiers of Italy, to prevent the flame of liberty from being altogether extinguished amongst his neighbours: in this praiseworthy effort he has hitherto been extremely successful; and the circumstance of his papers being sanctioned in all Italian states, is a proof that he has not abused the confidence reposed in him.

Unable to notice all those who grace the literary annals of the present day in Italy, I shall not attempt to draw any invidious distinctions by mentioning a few isolated names: this important task will, it is hoped, shortly occupy the attention of a much abler pen. It is enough for me to assure him who undertakes it, that there is an ample field for his illustration and panegyric. To those who are desirous of improving their knowledge of all that relates to modern Italy, I would strenuously recommend the perusal of Mr. Roscoe's elegant productions, M. Sismondi's admirable work on the Italian Republics; that of M. Ginguiné on its literature, is equally worthy of attention. The reader does not require to be informed that sculpture was never in a more advanced state than it is at present in this country. If painting is less prosperous, the cause is obvious, and peculiar to every other place, where that charming art languishes. I allude to want of patronage, which is severely felt by the best masters of Italy, of whom there are many who do much more honour to the profession than it does to them; but neither poetry, music or painting can ever leave Italy: these are indigenous, and when

every other blessing abandons them, will be a source of never failing consolation.*

Deeply interested in the future fate of Italy, which from the very nature of things cannot be suffered to remain much longer in its present incongruous state, I am not without a hope that the approaching interview of the sovereigns may lead to something of a more decisive and satisfactory character with respect to that country. As connected with the continuance of tranquillity in Europe, they cannot have a more important subject of discussion; and although it will not perhaps be expedient to grant all that the people require or liberality

* If, as some pretend, paintmg and sculpture has been transferred from Italy to more northern climes, we are, I think, justified in laying claim to no inconsiderable degree of excellence in these fascinating arts; both of which have been carried to an extraordinary degree of celebrity in the united kingdom; although unaided by that amazing extent of patronage and protection, which contributed so essentially to their advancement and ultimate perfection in Italy: such are the apparently miraculous effects of freedom, that individual exertion does more towards the advancement of science and art under its fostering hand, in this country, than centuries of perseverance could produce in the rest of Europe. It is well known that Louis the Fourteenth made the most strenuous efforts to establish a French school during the first years of his celebrated reign, more than a hundred and sixty years ago; whereas the Royal Academy of England has not been instituted a third part of that period, and yet, I am proud to have this opportunity of asserting, that we have left the boasted school of our neighbours nearly a century behind us in landscape and portrait painting; while the historical department only requires a small portion of that encouragement which it receives in France to ensure an equal degree of superiority. I do not offer the above as an idle opinion, founded on that overstrained degree of self-love which prompts people to estimate the talents of their own country beyond those of another. I have frequently thought it would be a most desirable plan, and really useful to both nations, were a certain number of pictures, from the productions of French and British artists, annually exhibited together; as independently of its effect in exciting an increased degree of emulation, there would be some positive mode to judge of our respective progress in the fine arts; a point which is at present subject to never-ending disputes: these cannot of course be decided to mutual satisfaction until a concurrence like the above is arranged. Notwithstanding our astonishing improvement, it is no less singular than true, that neither France or Italy will allow that there is an *English school* in existence; on the contrary, they treat it as a perfect chimera! This curious fact arises from the operation of two causes, jealousy and ignorance: jealousy on the part of our opposite neighbours, that we should excel them; and ignorance on that of both as to the exact state of the arts amongst us, or the continued efforts of those munificent patrons whose unwearied attentions are directed towards their advancement. Besides, very few foreigners know any thing about the British Institution, an establishment which does the highest honour to our country.

While this admirable association, including His Royal Highness the Prince Regent and the other

suggests, it would be a source of the most heartfelt sorrow to the advocates of legitimate governments, should the expected congress break up without a specific measure in favour of Italian liberty. Nothing but the desire of doing justice to an injured and unfortunate people, could have induced me to extend these desultory and imperfect remarks thus far. Impressed with a fearful sense of its importance, as connected with the new state of public opinion in Europe, I have taken this opportunity of touching on matters which were susceptible of much greater amplification: enough, however, has been said to prove that the interests of Italy are not entirely forgotten in England; and as the people of that country still look up to us for support, notwithstanding our past errors with respect to them, it would be a pity to view their present state of anxiety and suffering with indifference: in wishing them a better advocate, I merely lay claim to having treated their cause with truth and sincerity.*

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illustrious members of the Royal Family, together with the most distinguished and opulent part of the community, continues to foster British art, it must make rapid strides towards perfection. On the other hand, there is a different power which may render inestimable service to the arts, if temperately wielded, and divested of party animosity, which though inseparable from politics, casts an indelible stigma on the former, and should therefore be studiously avoided by all who are sincerely desirous of promoting their encouragement: I allude to the press, which, next to immediate patronage, cannot fail to be a most important auxiliary to painting and sculpture: these may, in fact, be regarded as exotics, which would hardly survive the rudeness of our climate without the vivifying incense of well merited praise. Amongst the few writers who have devoted their literary talents to the illustration and support of the British school, none is more conspicuous or entitled to applause than Mr. Cary, whose critiques on various works of art, particularly Stothard's celebrated Pilgrimage to Canterbury, and Mr. West's picture of Death on the Pale Horse, have placed that gentleman in the first rank of philosophical critics on the fine arts. Mr. Cary very properly regards the subject of painting as a national question, which should neither be influenced by prejudice or party. Though it may be this energetic writer's fate to encounter difficulties, and meet with ingratitude from some whose vanity or weakness make them inaccessible to the voice of truth, he will do well to pursue the laudable and disinterested plan he has hitherto adopted in favour of British art; while it is still more incumbent on those artists, if there be any such, who fritter away their valuable time and moral dignity in a bootless attempt to acquire literary fame, or conduct paper wars, to follow up their profession. That is the true path of glory for a painter, who cannot too frequently recur to the discourses of our celebrated countryman, as containing infallible rules for his conduct and studies. While that great man recommended Michael Angelo Buonarotti to the professional imitation of his auditors, their moral habits might, I think, be with propriety founded on those of Sir Joshua Reynolds!

* Amidst the variety of allusions contained in the poems published by Mr. Pananti during his

residence in England, Italy was not forgotten. The forty-second canto of *Il Poeta de Teatro*, has the following spirited burst of patriotism—

Oh se di tanti almen sconvolti Regni
Fatto si avesse un sol popol possente!
La fronte allor pei luminosi segni
Da gloria alzata avria l'Itala gente;
Nè amare fian le lagrime che spande
Volgendo i lumi a un avvenir più grande.

This occasioned a note, part of which I give in the original, as a specimen of the author's prose, and not unimportant hint to those who have it in their power to improve the political state of his country.

" In questo strano sconvolgimento, in questo giro delle vicende una speranza ed una consolazione potea restare ai cuori liberi ed alti, ed era di veder l'Italia dopo le orribili scosse assidersi sopra più solide basi, dal sen del caos uscir la luce, le stesse ceneri dai vulcani eruttate divenir ricche e feconde, di vedere in somma gl'Italiani uniti dai bisogni e dalle sventure, acquistare un carattere bellicoso, formare uno spirito pubblico, aver veramente una patria, non dirsi più Lombardi, Liguri, Etruschi, Cispadani, Traspadani, Cisalpini, ma poter dirsi tutti Italiani, e i veri figli mostrarsi del popol grande, ch'empi la terra del suo nome e degli alti suoi monumenti. Questo era il voto altre volte di Cola da Rienzi, di Petrarca e dei grandi uomini dei quali il cuore ardea del santo amor della patria."

THE END.

IMPORTANT WORKS,

LATELY PUBLISHED BY HENRY COLBURN, CONDUIT STREET;

AND SOLD ALSO BY BELL AND BRADFUTE, EDINBURGH; AND JOHN CUMMING, DUBLIN.

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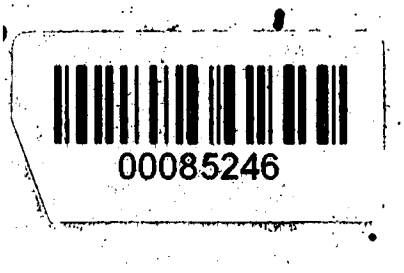
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